The Nation.

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The Week.

THE Republican trouble over Quay grows more interesting as time goes on. The interest reached its highest point at the Republican Convention in Pennsylvania last week. That Quay on two occasions stole a very large amount of money from the State Treasury not only is true, but has not been denied by him or anybody on his behalf. There are witnesses to the fact of the highest respectability, whose silence during the past three months is almost as good testimony as their oral evidence in court would be. Nevertheless, the Convention has met and nominated Quay's man for the Governorship—and he too has a little stock of imperfections on his head—and the Committee on Resolutions then proceeded to deal with Quay's personal troubles. In the first draught of the platform which was given to the Associated Press as certain to be adopted, they said:

"For the Chairman of our National Committee, Mr. Quay, we feel a lasting sense of gratitude for his matchless services in the last Presidential campaign, and commend his bearing under the slanders which his successful leadership of our party has purchased for him. As a citizen, a member of the General Assembly, *as Secretary of the Commonwealth under two successive Administrations, as State Treasurer by the overwhelming suffrages of his fellow-citizens, and as Senator of the United States, he has won and retains our respect and confidence.*"

His "bearing under the slanders" was simply standing silent under a charge of personal dishonesty supported by reputable and well-known witnesses. Fancy a great political party "commending" a leader for his departure from the customs of honorable men in every civilized community. This was, indeed, subsequently considered a little too strong, so the Quay plank was shifted from the beginning to the end of the platform, and all reference to "slanders" was omitted. But "confidence" was still expressed in a man who once while in charge of the Treasury, and once while having access to it in another office, abstracted from it over a quarter of a million of dollars on each occasion and used it in gambling. The facts have long been known among the leading business men of Philadelphia, and were produced in 1885 by the leading Republican journal of the State—the *Press*—as a reason why Quay could not be nominated for the State Treasurership.

The most ridiculous feature of the Pennsylvania Republican platform is the declaration which follows the endorsement of the McKinley Bill, that "we denounce the criticism passed upon that bill in the English Parliament as an unwarranted interference by a foreign nation with the right of the American people to protect American industries." Even that loyal supporter of the high tariff, the Philadelphia *Press*, is constrained to protest against such an absurdity. "This is simply silly," it says. "Our tariff laws are of interest to others besides ourselves. Comment upon them is perfectly legitimate and is not interference. The platform would have been improved if, on the revision, this petty piece of provincialism had been stricken out."

The Prohibitionists of Maine have just held a State convention which is noteworthy for its frank confession of the fact that prohibition does not prohibit in Maine. The platform contains the following statement: "That the Republican and Democratic parties each contain a liquor element sufficiently large to prevent any thorough or determined enforcement of the prohibitory law; their declarations are therefore meaningless, and adoptions well understood by the liquor interests, and by the officials upon whom enforcement depends, and at whose hands *the law is practically nullified in the cities and large towns in Maine.*" This is precisely what the opponents of prohibition have always contended to be the truth, and, now that its advocates concede the fact, there is no room for further argument on the question.

The fiscal year closed on Monday, and so few of the appropriation bills have become laws that the Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations was compelled to present a joint resolution extending for thirty days, or until the bills now pending become laws, the provisions of the appropriation acts of 1889-'90, in pro-rata amounts. Moreover, he was forced by an inquiry from a Democrat to admit that the situation in this respect was hardly any better than two years ago, despite all the talk about how the new rules were to expedite matters.

The vote in the House on the Free-Coinage Bill puts that body in a notable contrast to the Senate, and it shows clearly that the former and not the latter is now the conservative branch of Congress, and the one to be relied on to save the country from spasmodic outbreaks of passion and folly. The decline of the Senate is due in large part to the admission of new and sparsely settled Territories and mining-camps into the Union, which count for as much in the Senate as the most populous and best educated States. There is no cure for this evil except in time, and in the case of Nevada there never will be any cure. That is the typical mining-camp, containing a nomadic population more likely to diminish than to increase as time goes on. The only way to give her a population to fit her for valuable membership of the Union is to annex Utah to her. There is no constitutional obstacle to that. The effect of such a proceeding would be to shift her centre of gravity to Salt Lake City. Of course, this will not be done until the Mormon question is settled in some satisfactory way, but it ought to be done whenever public sentiment is ripe for the admission of Utah. The Silver Bill will now go to a conference committee, and will probably be reported in such form as to require the doubling, or a little more, of the monthly purchases of silver bullion. This will stave off the silver crisis for a longer or shorter period, according as the public revenues are more or less than the expenditures. The ability of the Treasury to maintain gold payments depends strictly upon its current balance, or what would be called in private business its "profit and loss account." So long as the balance is on the credit side it can maintain the gold standard, and no longer.

On the motion of Senator Plumb, the Senate instructed its Committee on Finance to report, with each item of increase or decrease of duties in the tariff, the reasons for such increase or decrease. The report which has been made is substantially an evasion of the instruction. It amounts in almost every case of increase merely to a statement that the Committee deemed more protection to be necessary. A few of these answers will serve to show how little information is supplied. Taking wool as the most important item in the list, and the one about which there has been most controversy, the report says:

"The *demand* from the representative woolgrowers of the country that the rates upon wool should be largely increased, has led the Committee to recommend the adoption of the new classification herein suggested, which it is hoped will result in a uniform and honest classification of wool. The increase of rates for the manufactures of wool has been made necessary by this increase in the wool rates."

In other words, the Committee consented to an increase in the rate because somebody asked, or, as they say, *demanded* it. This is a reason reduced to its simplest terms. We trust that Senator Plumb will find himself enlightened by it.

The next reason given is the one which explains the advance in the duty on pearl buttons, an advance of 300 or 400 per cent. in the case of inferior grades used by the poorer classes. As stated in the press despatches, "the increase on pearl and shell buttons was intended to protect domestic industry against the competition of foreign convict labor." That is an untruth. The pearl and shell buttons imported into this country are made by as honest people as can be found in any part of the world. They are mostly poor women and children in Vienna and its suburbs, who never saw the inside of a prison. There is no pretence of establishing the pearl-button industry in this country. In fact that is not contemplated. What is intended is, that the people shall be compelled to use some other kind of button at a much higher cost. We hope that Senator Plumb will push his inquiries on this subject a little further, and find out what evidence is relied on to

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show that pearl buttons are the product of convict labor. It might be asked what harm would be done to us in any way by foreign convicts producing an article that we do not produce and do not expect to produce. The reason for increasing the duty on building stone is curtly stated: it was "to check importations of foreign granite." Raw sugar was put on the free list "as a matter of wise public policy." The large increase in cigar wrappers was "to protect domestic growers from excessive importations of that article." The increased duty on glass bottles (present duty 42 per cent.) was "due to increased competition by foreign makers." (Here is a good chance for a Glass-Bottle Trust, if there is not one already in existence.) "The considerable increase in fruit juices not otherwise provided for was for the purpose of checking fraudulent importations of alcohol." Another untruth. The present law provides amply for the collection of duty on any alcohol contained in fruit juices above what is necessary to keep the juices from spoiling—that is, any alcohol capable of being put to commercial uses. The increase in laces, edgings, embroideries, etc., "was due to the feeling on the part of the Committee that these articles of luxury should pay part of the revenue necessary to be derived from some source to offset the large reduction resulting from placing sugar on the free list." This is another and a glaring untruth. The increase of duty will yield not more than $1,800,000, even if the importation of the articles is not checked by the increased cost. This is a notable offset indeed to $55,000,000 of sugar tax! What is really intended is to check the importation of the articles, in order to enrich a few manufacturers. And these things, we are told, are "articles of luxury"!

The outcry raised by the steel-rail manufacturers over the reduction of the duty on rails to $11.40 per ton fixed by the Senate Finance Committee ought to open the eyes of the people to the real character of what, in these later days, goes by the name of protection. A few weeks ago they and their newspaper organs were "pointing with pride" to the fact that rails were selling in this country as low as in England. In short, the sole condition upon which a protective tariff is ever justified, had been reached. The time had come when the promise originally given that protection should continue only till the industry was established on a firm basis, ought to be made good by a total repeal of the duty. But now, when the Senate Committee proposes to lower the duty to $11.40 per ton, they are in a great ferment, holding meetings and appointing committees to go to Washington, and raising heaven and earth to prevent the reduction. The truth is, that no duty at all is needed on steel rails. The manufacturers have for protection the cost of ocean freight, insurance, and commissions, which cannot be less than $3.50 per ton. They have, for a large portion of the country, the advantage of inland freight also, and, as we have said, the selling price is as high in Great Britain as here, or, if there is any difference, it is slight. If, under such conditions, a duty must still be maintained on steel rails, about what year of our Lord may we expect to see it taken off? Never, absolutely never, if we wait to get the consent of the rail-makers.

The latest thing in the way of Trusts is a Starch Trust, in which all or most of the starch factories of the country are combined. The duty on starch is 2 cents per pound under the present tariff, and on dextrine is one cent. The starch duty is not changed in the McKinley Bill, but the dextrine duty is doubled. According to the Senate Committee's tables published in the last Congress, the equivalent ad-valorem rate on starch is a trifle less than 100 per cent., being exactly 94.54 per cent. on starch made of corn or potatoes, and 97.90 per cent. on starch made of rice. This furnishes a good solid foundation for a Trust. We commend the matter to the diligent attention of the Republicans of Illinois and Iowa, whose State conventions held this week passed the most rabid resolutions on the subject of Trusts and combinations that we have yet seen. What is the use of foaming at the mouth on the subject of Trusts when McKinley is devising means to keep them going, and when the party in Congress blindly follows him?

Mr. Blaine, in his recent letter to the Senate on the results of the recent Pan-American Conference, made the following statement:

> "The Conference believed that while great profit would come to all the countries if reciprocity treaties could be adopted, the United States would be by far the greatest gainer. Nearly all the articles we export to our neighbors are subjected to heavy customs taxes; so heavy, in many cases, as to prohibit their consumption by the masses of the people. On the other hand, more than 87 per cent. of our imports from Latin America are admitted free, leaving but 12 per cent. upon which duties may still be removed."

Now, the meaning of this, if it has any meaning, is, that trade between the United States and the Latin American republics is obstructed because there is no reciprocity in tariff arrangements. We admit free of duty almost everything—except wool, sugar, copper, and silver-lead ores—they desire to sell to us, while they impose heavy duties on almost everything we desire to sell to them. But Great Britain admits everything—except tobacco—the South American States desire to export, while the same tariff duties that these States impose on imports from the United States apply equally to their imports from Great Britain. And yet the latter country does not complain of any undue restrictions on her South American trade, which goes on year after year increasing. Mr. Blaine is therefore clearly muddled in his conclusions.

Commissioner Raum's method of determining the fitness of candidates for clerkships in the Pension Office by "looking them in the face and forming a judgment of them," impresses the *Civil-Service Chronicle* as at once speedy and comprehensive. "I don't care to choose a man," said Raum, "from the bare statement that he has made an average of 76 or 83 or 91 per cent." How the Raum system works in practice is thus related by the *Chronicle:*

> "Commissioner Raum looked his own son, Green B. Raum, jr., in the face and formed a judgment of him. He did not require him to make an average of 76 or 83 or 91 per cent., but he lumped him off and decided that a suitable place must be made for this son, and so he created a new division known as the appointment division, and put Green B. Raum, jr., at the head of it with the title of Assistant Chief Clerk. This done, Commissioner Raum again looked his son in the face and formed a second judgment of him without requiring any per cent. As the result of this, he removed a woman clerk out of the chief clerk's room, where she had been making some fifteen dollars a month in notary fees, and put this son in the way of turning an honest penny with his notary's seal."

The *Chronicle* finds that the Raum method has been employed in choosing census-enumerators in Indianapolis. The first man who was looked in the face at Indianapolis was Mr. Merrill Moores, an active politician and a member of the Republican County Committee. Mr. Moores, after being looked in the face by Supervisor Conger, and found to be a good census-taker, was appointed to look in the faces of the other party workers in the city. The result has been very disappointing. "Some of those I recommended," says Mr. Moores, "have turned out most miserable failures." The Indianapolis *Journal* says that out of forty compositors working in that office twenty were missed by the census-takers. "The trouble," says the *Journal*, "grows out of the inexperience of enumerators and slipshod, unfaithful performance of duty on their part." This is just what was predicted when the Superintendent of the Census, with the permission of the President, discarded the civil-service rules in the selection of subordinates and adopted the Raum plan of choosing them by looking them in the face and forming a judgment without any percentage.

Tammany and its defenders are visibly disturbed over the appearance of clergymen in the citizens' movement, and are seeking to make it appear that the reverend gentlemen will be called upon to perform political duties which will detract from the dignity of their calling. The *Sun*, as the only really devoted Tammany organ, is especially anxious about them, and is trying to frighten them out of the field by setting forth a number of disagreeable things they may have to do if they stay in, saying among other things: "Of course, they must also appear on the stump as political orators, and on election day we may expect to see them as workers and watchers at the polls, zealously looking after the interests of the clerical ticket, and exhorting the faithful to vote as they pray." The *Sun* forgets that under the new election law there will be no "workers and watchers" of any kind about

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the polls, "exhorting the faithful to vote" any kind of a ticket, simply because the law says: "No person shall do any electioneering on election day within any polling-place, or in any public street or room, or in a public manner, within 150 feet of any polling-place." This will make it unnecessary for the clergy or any other respectable persons to stand about the polls as heretofore for the purpose of keeping the Tammany and other "heelers" from passing out bogus or defective or "crooked" tickets.

A curious correspondence between Funk & Wagnalls and the Blacks has been printed, in which Dr. Funk informed the Blacks that he was "handling" the reprint of the 'Britannica,' and forwarded them what he (Funk) "deemed a fair share of the profits," viz., $500. The Blacks, of course, returned the money, but why did Funk send it? Here is the mystery. Funk said in his circular that he had "purchased" the Encyclopædia which he was issuing at great cost from somebody, but not from the Blacks. Why, then, are the Blacks entitled to a "fair share of the profits"? Is any one entitled to "a fair share of the profits" derived from the sale of a thing which he does not own? If, on the other hand, he does own it, how can any one else, particularly a doctor of divinity, "handle" it without his consent, or fix his "share of the profits" without consulting him? Will Dr. Funk kindly look in his books on moral philosophy and see what the answer is to this question? Ordinarily when a man is caught "handling" things under the conditions in which Dr. Funk is "handling" the Blacks' books, he is "run in" by the police. What is there exceptional in this case?

In the settlement between England and Germany as to East African territory, the possession of Heligoland was taken by the latter as an offset to the protectorate of Zanzibar. The London *Economist*, commenting on the English opposition to the surrender of Heligoland, shows conclusively that the bargain is enormously to the advantage of England. It may be to the advantage of Germany also, and is evidently so considered by the Germans, since it gives them a naval station in just the place where they want one to defend their great seaports. To England it has only a sentimental value, and in this particular the sentiment will not bear close investigation, since, as the *Economist* says, the island "was stolen rather than taken from Denmark in the war of 1807." Its area is only 450 acres, being smaller than many single farms in the United Kingdom. Its population of 2,000 inhabitants are attached to English rule only because they are thus saved from military conscription. On the other hand, the island of Zanzibar in the hands of a great naval Power dominates the East African coast and becomes a most valuable connecting link between Africa and India. Moreover, a quarrel with Germany at the present time, the *Economist* thinks, would probably have cost England her position in Egypt. The reasons assigned by the *Economist* for ratifying the agreement with Germany are so great in comparison with the value of Heligoland that there can be little doubt that Parliament will acquiesce in it if the motion to reject it is ever pressed to a vote.

The Boston *Journal* has formed the pleasant conceit that Great Britain ought to hand over Bermuda to us because she has handed over Heligoland to Germany. Another esteemed contemporary thinks that the island of New Providence (Nassau) would be about the right thing to compensate us for Heligoland. Great Britain has, in the Bermudas and Bahamas, about 2,500 patches of ground and rock sticking above water. If she should, in a friendly spirit, say to the United States: "Bless you, my child, take them all," what would be our feelings? Twice since the close of the civil war have we been offered possessions in the West Indies of far greater value than all of the Bahamas and Bermudas put together, and in each instance we declined to take them. Not even the great popularity of Gen. Grant could force San Domingo upon us. Not even the wily persuasiveness of Gov. Seward could induce us to accept St. Thomas. It is true that a money payment was required in the latter case, but it was not the price that led us to reject the island: we simply did not want it. Anybody who goes there now and spends an hour on the island will be entirely convinced that the decision then made was a good one. But we want St. Thomas exactly as much as we want either Bermuda or New Providence. Regarded as a naval station, it is the superior of either of them, while San Domingo is by far more valuable than all three—more valuable, indeed, than all the British islands in the West Indies taken together except, perhaps, Jamaica. Yet if we want San Domingo today, we have only to say so.

The reports about the situation of the British Ministry grow more serious, and it is now said that a complete reconstruction of the Cabinet, under which the Liberal Unionists would take the leading places, may be looked for before many days. Their calamity has grown out of their over-confidence in supposing that they could, towards the close of the session, push through, all abreast, three stoutly contested measures of the first importance, viz., the Irish Land-Purchase Bill, the Welsh Tithes Bill, and the License Bill. To every one of these there is fanatical hostility in some quarter. The Ministers tried for a while to stem the tide and force the bills through by the use of the closure, but it soon became clear that the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Courtney, would not permit the use of the closure to stifle debate on measures of such importance. The first time he refused to put Mr. Smith's closure motion, therefore, it was evident that the powers of obstruction possessed by the Opposition would make progress impossible. After much hemming and hawing and much cursing of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and many consultations as to what should be done, it was resolved to parley. To drop all or any one of the bills would of course bring more or less discredit. So Lord Salisbury concocted the plan of simply postponing one or more of them until the next session, leaving it to be taken up there at the exact stage in which the adjournment this session left it. But to do this would have needed a change in that time-honored Standing Order of the House under which every bill not passed dies at the close of the session. The change, Mr. John Morley and other Liberals admitted, had something to be said in its favor, but the bulk of the party was by no means ready to make it in order to help the Tories out of their difficulties. So that it was speedily perceived that it would take just as much time to debate and modify the Standing Order as to pass one of the three bills. Hence this plan was abandoned.

Mr. Smith, who is an elderly man in poor health, was then at his wits' ends, and there was nothing for it but to capitulate. He announced that the compensation clause of the bill would be withdrawn, and the tax, which was to have been devoted to the compensation would be allowed to accumulate, and have its final destination subsequently settled. This was really a cry for quarter, but the foe was pitiless and refused him all conditions. So he had to surrender at discretion—that is, throw the bill and all its belongings overboard. This, of course, has only flushed the Liberals with victory. They feel that they have fatally discredited the Ministry, and that if they push their advantage, they may compel the abandonment of the other two bills also. Of course the natural and time-honored way out of a situation so difficult is dissolution. A united party would undoubtedly, under existing circumstances, dissolve and go to the country. But the trouble is that the Tories know well that they would be left in a hopeless minority at a general election, as they were at the last two, while the Liberal Unionists have the strongest reason for believing that very few of them would get back to Parliament if they now appealed to their constituencies. Consequently, all talk of dissolution sends a shiver through the frames of the whole anti-Gladstonian host. They cannot bring themselves to face the risk of putting Gladstone back into office, with his powers of mischief apparently undiminished and the wicked Irish still unsubdued. For it appears from every day's news that Mr. Balfour's coercion has somehow not proved a success. The Irish are still recalcitrant, and he has still every day to defend in the House modes of breaking their spirit which puzzle and shock the English public. He thought when he came into office that, by subjecting the leaders to ordinary prison discipline, he should speedily end the trouble, and chuckled over it as a great discovery; but that sense of triumph has long passed away.

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A RETROSPECT.

THE *Nation* begins with the present number its twenty-sixth year. It has occurred to us that we could hardly mark the occasion in any better way than by running over some of the great political and social changes which the paper has, within that quarter of a century, taken note of and to some extent discussed. No one who has participated in any such discussions can even look back over them without being impressed anew by the futility of political prophecy. In the year in which the *Nation* was started, there was hardly any political observer who did not look for the permanent retention among us of the military spirit, for a considerable increase in the standing army, and for an increased disposition to use it either for purposes of foreign aggression, or for the more complete and peremptory assertion of a strong central authority. All did not go as far as Wendell Phillips when he declared in that year, in a speech in Boston, that our old farming and reading republic was at an end, and that a strong military and perhaps predatory republic was to take its place. But certainly few looked for the rapid disappearance of the army, and the almost abrupt banishment of military topics from the forum of popular interest, and for the eagerness with which a community which had just been throwing all its powers into a fierce military struggle, diverted its energies to the business of money-making. There was something very fine, as well as unexpected, about this, and it called forth the admiration, as well as the surprise, of the civilized world.

But there followed on it another change which was much less desirable, and which also was unlooked for—we mean the rapid decline of the sentimental interest in the war. This is one of the *sequelæ* of all civil wars, owing to the fact that there is always something odious in the memory of conflicts of this nature, and that the contest begins, almost as soon as peace is restored, to furnish political capital to one or other of the parties which have carried it on. The duty of cherishing the memory of it is apt to be soon left to the veterans who have taken part in the fighting, and who can recall, as the younger generation cannot, the sacrifices it entailed and the evils it ended. This inevitable decline of popular interest in the heroic side of the contest has been hastened by the growth of the curiously mercenary view of the services of the Northern army which has ended in the pension legislation. There was probably nothing less looked for in 1865 than a successful movement, a quarter of a century later, to appraise the services of the soldiers in money, and discharge the obligations of the nation to its saviours in cash payable monthly, without distinction or discrimination as regards the nature of their services. This may be said to have buried the more tender memories of the war, which seemed, twenty-five years ago, to be certain to retain their strength at least till our babes were grown old and the survivors of the great fields were a small and vanishing band.

Not the least remarkable of the unexpected results of the war has been the recovery of the South. One of the anticipations of 1865 which did most to darken the political horizon, was the belief that the negro would for an indefinite period need the protection of Federal troops from physical violence, that industry at the South would consequently fail to revive, and that the State governments, if restored, would prove simply centres of resistance to Federal authority. It has taken twenty-five years of steadily increasing material prosperity at the South to dissipate those earlier apprehensions, and reduce the sum of Southern danger and misconduct to the cheating of the negroes at the polls, to the detriment not so much of the negro as of the Republican party at the North. The enormous increase of Southern products during the past fifteen years is proof, such as no one looked for within the present century, of the completeness with which order and security have been restored. The present state of things may not be satisfactory, owing to the political subjection of the negro to the white minority, but it is a state of things immensely superior to anything which was expected at the close of the war, and something totally different from what the prophets on both sides foresaw.

The return to specie payments was another thing which most observers relegated to a far remoter period than 1878, and which very few expected except through a process of increased paper inflation ending in a general crash. An operation so difficult seemed to some of the best political observers hardly within the reach of a legislative assembly neither led nor controlled by the executive branch of the Government. The late Samuel J. Tilden, who always, even when his party was most infected by the greenback craze, took the clearest possible view of the financial situation, was of opinion that we should "blunder into resumption" rather than deliberately resume; but, contrary to his fears, we did actually resume on a day fixed beforehand, partly through accident, it is true, but mainly through design.

The industrial changes of the period have been far too great and too varied for us to attempt even a notice of them here, and have been set out, in all their wondrousness, with admirable clearness and picturesqueness, by Mr. D. A. Wells in his recent book. Of a large number of them the public knows in detail but very little; but the most striking of them all, the extension and improvement of the railroads, no one can appreciate who does not recall the condition of the railroads and the discomfort of American travel at the close of the war. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the art of transporting persons by land has been revolutionized within the quarter of a century. Not only has there been a wonderful extension of lines of communication, but the discomfort has been reduced to a minimum, and all around the great cities immense suburbs have been created which begin to rival them in population and in importance. Out of this great extension and improvement of the railroad communication, and out of the accompanying improvement and cheapening of steam navigation, there have grown since 1865 social and political changes of the first magnitude. Not only have vast additions been made to the foreign population—that is, to the portion of the population bred under institutions differing widely from those of the United States—but the seats both of social influence and of political power have been shifted to new classes.

One of the most marked characteristics of American society in the period preceding the war, and in truth during the war itself, was the influence of the clergy and lawyers in their character of publicists and orators. Nearly every State had at least one Senator of the type of Seward, or Sumner, or Fessenden, or Trumbull—generally a man of very moderate pecuniary means—who not only exerted great influence on the politics of his State, but spoke with more or less moral and intellectual authority on all the questions of the day, and aided his constituents by speeches out of Congress, somewhat in the English fashion, in making up their minds on current topics. This type has almost completely disappeared. It can hardly be said to have any representative whatever in the Senate to-day. There is no Senatorial orator whose utterances are looked for with any eagerness or have any deciding influence on local opinion. The Senate has, in fact, become almost exclusively a capitalists' chamber, and it is only from the South that poor men continue to find their way into it with ease. At the North there is a steady tendency to give seats in it to successful manufacturers, speculators, or railroad men. As a general rule, too, this class brings to the work of legislation considerable contempt for public opinion as expressed through the newspapers, and an almost unbounded belief in the venality of State legislatures as the result of their own experience in business life; for a successful business career on the scale which is now common can hardly go very far without bringing a man in contact with State legislators as an applicant for some sort of favor or privilege, or as the object of the form of extortion known as "a strike." There has been, too, contemporaneously with this change in the quality of the Senators, a marked withdrawal of the lawyers from the work of political exposition, and in fact from the whole rôle of politicians. The leaders of the bar confine themselves to professional work, largely in the service of corporations, with great assiduity, and seem to grow more and more reluctant to figure in great political movements of any kind. And this change has been accentuated by the complete disappearance from the political arena of the class of orator known as the "lyceum lecturer," who represented to the rural population not only literature and art, but political philosophy, and exerted during the period preceding the war a very wholesome and powerful influence in shaping popular thought on public questions.

On the other hand, the leading colleges of the country have been almost transformed since the *Nation* was started, and a class of

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advanced students have come into existence who were unknown and unexpected at the close of the war. The schools of political science which the principal universities now contain, turn out yearly both writers and thinkers whose contributions to the literature of political philosophy, history, archæology, political economy, and administrative law are extremely important, and have placed the country in the very front rank in fields of inquiry in which it was, five-and-twenty years ago, almost wholly unrepresented. Not only have they made the task of conducting a critical journal like the *Nation* increasingly easy, but they carry on periodicals of their own, in which the best thought of the time on political and economical questions finds adequate expression. But, curiously enough, this remarkable development of the universities in these fields has been accompanied by what seems to be an undoubted decline in the influence of the colleges on popular thought, and in the number of graduates in Congress and in political life. This result is in part due to the prominence of the tariff in the politics of the day, and the consequent separation of the professors, who are generally free-traders, from the wealthy industrial class, who have made fortunes under the protectionist régime, and who have been largely relied on for the expenses of the now very costly elections; in part, also, to the increasing dislike of thoughtful and cultivated men to the working of our nominating machinery, and to its close connection with the "spoils system" in the administration of the Government. Whether a great change in the relation of the men of culture to public life may not be wrought by the new ballot act, which is now in operation in many States, and will probably before long be introduced into them all, remains to be seen.

No change has been so marked as the transfer to wealth of the political and social influence which was formerly shared, if not absorbed, by literary, oratorical, or professional distinction. The popular interest which twenty-five years ago was centred on the authors, preachers, and lecturers who had taken the leading part in the great anti-slavery struggle, or had written the books and poems which first spread the fame of American literature through the world, and during the war and for a short period afterwards was centred on the leaders in the armed struggle, has been almost wholly transferred to the great millionaires. It is their personality and doings which now pique popular curiosity and touch the popular imagination. It is their talk which commands most attention, and which is believed to have most power. In politics they have become perhaps the greatest force of the day, owing in part to the virtual withdrawal of the bar and the clergy from the political arena, but in still greater part to their power of "owning" both men and newspapers—that is, of controlling politicians, and directing the course of the press through the influence either of retainers or of "good things" in advertisements or circulation. In some parts of the country—Pennsylvania, for instance—this control may be said to be absolute; in others, its development corresponds very much to the local development of the manufacturing interest. Wherever this is very powerful, the subservience of the press to the interests of property, as they are understood by local capitalists, is very great, if not complete.

This is the natural and almost inevitable effect of the steady growth of the tariff in importance, owing to the enormous investments made in it, and depending on it, in the opinion of the owners, for safety. During the thirty years of high protection which followed the outbreak of the war, there has been an unprecedented amount of money put into industries created or maintained by legislation; and as the volume of this investment has swelled, the tariff question has gradually not only dominated all other questions, but has driven them out of the field. In every country property which has been directly created by legislation, or which needs special legal protection, is extraordinarily sensitive and jealous. Negro slavery and the English Corn Laws were two striking examples of this in our own time. Such property, if seriously assailed, is always ready to defend itself by any weapon within its reach, and is sure to surround itself with elaborate bulwarks and safeguards. Foremost among these safeguards is apt to be restriction on the liberty of speech of all within reach of its influence; the presence of men known to be hostile to it becomes odious; their actions become suspicious; their aims in every direction become tainted with treason or immorality; and, finally, any means of counteracting their influence or destroying their authority seems legitimate. In truth, nothing defends itself so desperately, and with such serenity of conscience as to the means to be used, as property in danger.

It is an easy deduction from all this that a high tariff in a country in which it has numerous and active opponents, and is therefore constantly in a state of unstable equilibrium, must necessarily make money a most potent agent in politics, and tend more and more to discredit the art of open persuasion. The art of persuasion only flourishes at times and in places where the orator or writer is sure that his strokes will tell, that his opponents do not wear concealed armor, and that the seed he sows in daylight will not be uprooted in the night-time. It declines always in the presence of legislative corruption in any form—that is, the use on the legislator of the motive of personal gain, whether that motive take the form of cash in hand or the prospect of large profits on an investment.

In nothing do the Northern States of to-day differ more from the Northern States of 1860 than in this great supremacy in politics of purely material interests. Devotion to those interests, however, has been in some of its phenomena by no means evil or despicable. It has added much to the comfort and convenience of life among all classes. It has greatly refined and considerably dignified the luxury and amusements of the rich. It has introduced an invaluable love of healthful outdoor sports and amusements, and may be said to have considerably changed for the better the physique of the sedentary class of the urban population. It has produced a great increase of attention to health, in the construction of dwellings and in clothing and food. It thus furnishes a fresh illustration of the difficulty which all observers, even the most pessimistic, find in despairing of the Republic. After they have collected together all the most depressing facts in existence, they are sure to find mixed up in them a bushel of reminders that, in the Western World at least, after all action comes reaction, after the flood comes the ebb, and that in politics, as in private life, people often make a ladder of their vices to rise to higher things.

A VOICE FROM THE SOUTH.

THE discussion of the Federal Election Bill in the House of Representatives has evoked a speech from a Southern Republican Congressman which must command the attention of the country. Hamilton G. Ewart, Representative from the Ninth District of North Carolina, is a white man who was only eleven years old when the war broke out, and who comes from a South Carolina family which was earnestly enlisted on the Confederate side. Settling in Hendersonville, N. C., after having completed his education, he joined the Republican party and cast his first vote for Gen. Grant in 1872. He speedily became a prominent local leader in his party, was twice elected Mayor of the city, ran as a Hayes and Wheeler Presidential elector in 1876, a few years later was chosen to the Legislature, and in 1888 was elected to Congress from a district which has a majority of white Republicans. In short, he represents that element in the South which the Republican party must secure if it is ever to amount to anything in that quarter.

Mr. Ewart unhesitatingly asserted for his own State that "no Republican in the State, black or white, is prevented from casting his vote," but admitted that "in other States in the South the negro vote is suppressed under the forms of law, and in other sections still there is violence and stealing of ballot-boxes." He insisted, however, that this admitted evil would only be aggravated by the force legislation proposed. Characterizing the bill as "a sectional measure, designed almost entirely for the South," he drew this picture of the way it would work:

> "The applicants for supervision must declare their belief that without it there will not be a free and fair election. And here we have a direct appeal to partisan prejudice. The complaint is filed that the majority in the district propose to steal, cheat, and swindle at the ballot-box, and that Federal supervisors must be appointed to protect the rights of the minority. And right here the wickedness and folly of this proposition become manifest. The most determined and resolute body of partisans in the world to-day live at the South. By this law you instigate the misguided colored man to sign the petition in which he alleges that the white people of his district propose to cheat and swindle him at the ballot-box. At the very outset of the political contest distrust and bad blood are generated. But it does not stop here. The law directs that the supervisors shall be appointed from each political party. In many counties in certain Southern States there are not half-a-dozen white Republicans;

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in many townships not a single one. Who, then, will be appointed supervisors? Necessarily negroes. Deputy marshals would also be appointed from the same class. What results would this bring about? Bloodshed, terrorism, riot, and disorder."

Mr. Ewart pointed out that the framers of this bill are asking these poor negroes who are appointed in Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia as supervisors, to discharge a duty that the bravest soldier in the United States service to-day would hesitate to perform, since "it requires a man of unflinching nerve to act as a supervisor or deputy marshal at a precinct surrounded by angry, hot-blooded, determined, and resolute partisans where the issue is black against white, the powerful against the weak, the rich against the poor, the intelligent against the ignorant." To the objection of Northern Republicans that this is a shameless state of affairs to exist in any section of the United States, he made this effective reply: "But, virtuous Representatives, put yourselves in the place of these Southern people; place negro judges of election and negro deputy marshals at the voting precincts in Michigan, in Wisconsin, in Ohio, and in Indiana, and the Republican nominees for Congress in those districts would be swept out of political existence. You very well know that you would not dare to apply this law as it will have to be applied in the South in the districts which you represent to-day."

"Suppose you place this law upon the statute-book," he went on, "in what way have you helped the negro?" The only effect could be to solidify the white voters, now on the eve of disintegration, to encourage Bourbon extremists, to frighten away Northern capital, now pouring into the South, and to retard the industrial interests of the section—and all for what? "To create returning boards who may possibly return as elected a few Congressmen from the black districts," although Mr. Ewart's belief is that, if the bill is passed, there will not be a corporal's guard of Southern Republicans in the Fifty-second Congress.

Leaving the partisan aspect of the case, Mr. Ewart discussed briefly the philosophy of the negro's condition. He recalled the fact, which so many people forget, that under our system it is the State Government, not the United States Government, which must protect the citizen in his rights, and that this is as true of the black citizen as of the white. "You will tell me," he continued, "that I am suggesting no remedy for the political state of affairs in the South. Yes, there is a remedy, and that is to mind your own affairs and treat the colored man of the South with 'wise and salutary neglect'—I mean, of course, in a political sense. If you are too penurious to help him by educating him, at least let him alone. It was Burke who said that 'a clamor made merely for the purpose of rendering the people discontented without an endeavor to give them a practical remedy is indeed one of the worst acts of sedition.' Such conduct is worthy only of demagogues like Cleon, or scheming politicians like Burr. I am tired of this rot and fustian about the poor negro and down-trod Republican of the South. The negro of the South is doing well."

Mr. Ewart presented evidence that the Republicans of his district sustain his position on this question, saying among other things: "One of the most prominent colored men in my district, and a leader of his people, earnestly endorses my views on the Election Bill, and predicts trouble and disaster to his race if it passes. John H. Williamson, the editor of the *Gazette*, the leading colored paper in the State, and an ex-member of ability and standing in the Legislature of 1886, writes me that he heartily approves my course, and unites with me in warning the leaders of the party against this pernicious legislation." He concluded with this ringing declaration of independence:

"I do not know what course other Southern Republican Representatives may take in this matter; but, speaking for myself, I will never by my vote or voice support a proposition that tends to humiliate or degrade my people. I shall, if I am the only Republican on this floor, protest against the passage of a law that will sow the foul seeds of factional discord among the people, and be a fruitful cause of unutterable woe to the unfortunate class it is designed to benefit. If that be treason to the party to which I have ever been loyal, make the most of it."

Such a speech ought to carry weight in the House. All accounts agree that it produced a great effect. But whether this effect will be reflected in Republican votes against the Force Bill is another matter. The party caucus has decreed the passage of the measure, and, as Mr. Ewart said in opening his remarks, "unfortunately, it has reached that point in American politics where, under the iron and despotic ruling of King Caucus, a representative of the people is often forced to forget that he has a conscience, and, blindly ignoring all sense of self-respect and manly pride, commit himself to the support of measures which, deep down in his heart, he knows to be utterly wrong. To-day, to our shame and discredit be it said, there are Representatives from sovereign States upon this floor who, deep down in their hearts, know that this election bill is as damnable, illogical, inequitable, and vicious a piece of legislation as was ever attempted to be placed upon the statute-books of this republic. And yet, at a sacrifice of their manhood, sober judgment, their sense of fairness and justness, feeling the keen sting of the caucus lash, they will support a measure which will add untold miseries to the woes of the unfortunate people it is designed to help, stir up race troubles and factional strife in our fair South land, and breed political confusion worse confounded."

However the vote in the House may result, Mr. Ewart's speech is bound to have a marked effect upon public opinion. It counteracts the force of all the bloody-shirt tirades from Northern Republican demagogues, and leaves exposed the wicked and stupid partisanship which lies behind this measure.

A BLOW AT THE PIRATES.

JUDGE SHIPMAN of the United States District Court has rendered a decision of great importance to the international-copyright question, and indirectly to the morals of the community. As our readers are aware, the invention of a very cheap process for reproducing books by photography has started an attack on various expensive foreign books by domestic Pirates. The principal object of attack has been the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' the English edition of which costs $9 a volume, and the American, issued by the Scribners, $5 a volume, but the Pirates are, by the photographic process, able to sell it at about $1.50 a volume. A swarm of them have accordingly fastened on the work and are deluging the market with the photograph. The books contain many articles and maps by American authors of distinction, who either hold the copyright of these articles themselves or have assigned it to the Messrs. Black of Edinburgh.

Now the Pirates, in stealing the book, forgot these articles and maps, and reproduced them by their photographic process and offered them for sale with the rest of the work. The Messrs. Black, with the Scribners and Gen. Francis A. Walker, have accordingly attacked one of the Pirates, the firm of H. G. Allen & Co., in the United States courts, and asked to have them enjoined from further publication and made to account for the proceeds of past plunder. The Pirates demurred to the bill, on the ground that, as the articles claimed as copyright have appeared in a book most of which, as belonging to an alien, is not copyright, or *publici juris*, as the lawyers say (meaning that anybody may steal it), they must take their chance with the rest. In other words, they claimed that if an American allows his property to be mixed up with a foreigner's property, which our Government does not protect, and which American robbers are therefore permitted to steal, the robbers need not discriminate, but may freely appropriate whatever first comes to their hand. They also set up the very amusing but very impudent plea that the insertion of these American articles in the Encyclopædia was a trap set for American Pirates, and that those who set it do not therefore come into court with clean hands, and are not entitled to redress. Judge Shipman has brushed aside these pleas. He has overruled the demurrer, and ruled that an American does not lose his title to his property by mixing it in with lawful plunder, and that "a citizen of the United States who is the owner of a copyright can assign the whole of such copyright to a foreigner."

Final judgment in the case has not yet been rendered, but as there is no dispute about the facts, there can, under this interlocutory ruling, be no doubt as to what it must be. It will of course cover the case of Funk and Wanamaker as well as that of the Allens, and we trust that the Messrs. Black and Scribner and Gen. Walker, in the interest of public morals, will begin suits against these worthies as soon as possible and prosecute them vigorously. The demoralizing effects both of their thefts and their excuses can hardly be overrated, owing to their standing in the Church and the conspicuousness of their religious professions. Funk is a doctor of divinity and the editor of a *Homiletic Review* (of all things in the world), and maintains publicly that he may steal all property not especially covered by statute or legal de-

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cisions, and that the Government may ethically expose to plunder anybody it pleases by refusing him the protection of the law, and he is selling like wildfire the proceeds of a huge theft. Wanamaker is a Cabinet Minister and an active Sunday-school superintendent, and holds the Funk theory in its fullest extent, but defends himself against criticism in this particular case by maintaining that as he only "handles" and "pushes" the stolen Encyclopædia, and does not himself photograph or bind it, he is not only not to blame, but is worthy of praise. Every day that these shocking examples of profitable dishonesty, cloaked or disguised by religious professions, are offered to the youth of the country, infinite harm is done to public morals. We wish that we could hope that a meeting of the other doctors of divinity would be held in this city to consider Funk's case, and call his "successful book business" by its right name. We can hardly expect this, however, but we do call on those American citizens who have the opportunity of bringing the pair of them to justice under Judge Shipman's decision, to give them, for the honor of the country and in the interest of true religion and sound morality, the full rigor of the law.

To return to the demurrer in the above case, we have never seen anything quite so amusing in a law pleading, except the account given of the doings in the Twenty-third Street Opera-house, in one of the Erie suits against James Fisk, jr. Of course it is quite possible, and in fact very probable, that it does not contain the real sentiments of the learned author. It is almost certain, too, that it is not meant to be a contribution to humorous literature, for the last thing an equity draftsman thinks of is inserting jokes in his pleadings. It is undoubtedly meant seriously to influence the mind of a United States judge, by showing that, through the negligence or connivance of Congress, mere use and wont has not only taken a certain species of property from under the protection of the Decalogue, but has covered the stealing of it with a sanctity which a court of equity will rigorously uphold. The counsel's contention is—we mean to be serious and fair in reproducing it—that Congress, in refusing copyright to aliens, meant that their books should be stolen in order to make easy the diffusion of knowledge in this country; that this view is "not only sound in law, but is in full accord with the highest ethics of morality [*sic*] and the clearest principles of business integrity. It deprives the foreigner of nothing to which he is morally or legally entitled. It misleads no one; it does not entrap the foreigner, neither does it take from him the value of a cent that is his."

"The United States law of copyrights is the same to-day that it has been for two generations. It is, and has been, notice to all the world that a foreign publication can be reprinted in the United States without interference from any quarter. When the foreign complainants began the publication of the Encyclopædia, they knew that their exclusive field would be confined to countries outside of the United States. They went into the enterprise fully cognizant of the right of any person within the boundaries of the United States to reprint and republish it, volume by volume, as fast as it appeared. The profits of an exclusive American market did not enter into their calculations, and formed no inducement to the enterprise, for our laws warned them that such was impossible. What, then, have they to complain of when they are met by precisely the same adverse conditions which, when they started, they knew they must expect?"

From all this is deduced the conclusion that the plaintiffs, by sprinkling American articles over the pages of the Encyclopædia, meant to impede or hinder the exercise of that sacred right of plunder which Congress meant our citizens to exercise without stint, and have been guilty of an unworthy trick. Therefore, says the pleader—were he in any other calling we should call him a sorry wag—"From the standpoint of sound morals and acknowledged judicial principles, the defendant herein is the meritorious party; the complainant is a Philistine from afar, seeking to reap where he has not sown. The American market was not for him. All his legitimate hope of profit lay in the tillage of other fields. For those, and not for ours, he dug his irrigating ditches and expended his labor. If the overflow has passed his boundaries and by American enterprise is made to fertilize our territory, he is none the poorer, and his claim to control our fields as he would his own is simply the brazen audacity of the buccaneer." These passages are sure to go the round of the civilized world as a huge American joke, but we warn foreigners that they are nothing of the kind. They are sober earnest, as understood in a respectable law office in this city.

We have amused ourselves, after recovering from the reading of them, by putting the argument in the mouth of a Dey of Algiers in the old days addressed to his Christian captives just brought in by one of his corsairs:

"Christian Dogs, what are you whimpering about? You knew when you started on this voyage, with your valuable cargo, for Smyrna, as you say, that you would have to pass through the Mediterranean, and that this sea has been for two centuries infested by my cruisers. You knew that we have practised piracy on such as you for many generations, and that it is necessary to the comfort and prosperity of this State and city. You knew it brought us wealth, and stimulated the energies of our young men and spread the fame of our flag. You knew, in short, you snivelling infidels, that you would probably be captured before you had got half way down the sea. Why did you sail on such a venture if you did not like being captured and losing your goods? You knew perfectly well, too, that there was nothing wrong in seizing your ship and selling you into slavery, because if there had been anything wrong in it, I or my predecessors should have forbidden it by an edict long ago. There is no law in Algiers against it, and therefore it is right. My captain reports, too, that you had guns on board and used them to resist capture desperately. You actually used weapons and shed blood, besides extinguishing your lights at night, in trying to prevent my subjects exercising their lawful calling, showing what an accursedly wicked and undeserving crew you are. In order to give you a lesson in really high morality, you shall, each of you, have two dozen on the soles of your feet, and be sold cheap, so that poor men may get hold of you."

A STUDY IN LEGISLATIVE MORALS.

THE investigation of the West End Railway scandal in the Massachusetts Legislature has been closed, and the evidence has been summed up in long and able speeches by the counsel for the railway company on one side and by the Attorney-General of the Commonwealth on the other. These two speeches, as published in full in the Boston newspapers, are most instructive reading. They reveal a condition of affairs in relation to modern legislative methods which we are sorry to believe is not peculiar to Massachusetts, but is to be found, with slightly varying details, in nearly every State in the Union. The main facts in the Massachusetts case are not disputed. The counsel for the railway company admits them, and offers no other defence than that custom made the course pursued the necessary one.

These facts can be set forth in comparatively brief space. There had been for several years a constantly growing demand in Boston for an elevated railway. Down to the close of the session of the Legislature of 1889, the West End Railway Company, which controls the horse-car lines of Boston, opposed the demand on the ground that an elevated road was not necessary. It succeeded in defeating legislation at that session, but hardly had the adjournment taken place when the company changed front and became an advocate of an elevated system, and began a campaign to obtain for itself the privilege of constructing it. It is the inside history of this campaign that the investigation has made public, and a remarkable revelation it is. The election of members of the next Legislature was not to take place till November, but the West End managers began in July the work of "fixing" them. Their first step was to retain as counsel, for a fee of $10,000, an eminent Republican leader who had been President of the Senate. He devoted himself to employing as his subordinates in the service of the company members of the lobby of the Legislature, who were also politicians in various parts of the State; men who had influence in the different counties; and men who had occupied positions on political committees and were known to have had great influence in previous legislatures, and who had a large acquaintance with persons who were likely to be chosen to the new Legislature. This work was laid out in a thoroughly systematic manner. The counties were arranged as districts, the larger ones each constituting a district, and the smaller ones being grouped several together in a district. Care was taken that in each county there should be secured the services of one man of influence, no matter to which political party he belonged.

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When this had been accomplished, when the company had secured its men in every part of the State, a series of banquets was arranged for them by counties at the Algonquin Club in Boston. At each banquet the President of the company appeared, and at its close delivered a speech in favor of the elevated railway which the company desired to build. It was rumored about this time that the former seekers for an elevated-railway franchise were at work in some of the legislative districts of the State, and were using money freely to secure the nomination and election of members who would be friendly to their project. The West End people put out money freely in the first place to overcome this obstacle, and subsequently bought out their rivals by paying them a fixed sum to abandon the field and turn over all their lobby and other workers to their side. In this way the West End influence was unobstructed in all the nominating conventions.

When the Legislature came together, the county banquets, preceded by carriage rides, were continued, with the members included as guests. Where members were detained over night by them, their hotel bills were paid by the company. A lobby of nearly forty members was in constant attendance, and no less than eight attorneys, including two ex-Governors, all eminent legal lights of the Boston bar, were retained as counsel. Great efforts were made to "fix" the railway committees of the two houses in the interest of the company, and the succession of banquets and other seductive social attentions was constant and well-nigh or quite irresistible. The Senate succumbed easily, and the desired bill went through that body with little opposition. It was moving along serenely in the House till a Mugwump member, George F. Williams of Dedham, openly denounced the methods by which it had been pushed and demanded an inquiry.

It has been shown that in getting their project to the point at which Mr. Williams stopped it, the company spent $113,516. Of this amount $24,000 went to the county and lobby workers, $7,500 went for "reading notices" in the newspapers; the banquets, and cabs made necessary by them, cost $2,500; and a greater part of the remainder was for "counsel fees." There was no evidence that any member had been bought outright, and it would have been surprising if there had been, for, after the prolonged series of banquets and the systematic "fixing" which preceded and accompanied them, direct bribery ought to have been unnecessary.

In the speech of the counsel for the company, Mr. George M. Stearns, a lawyer justly celebrated for his brilliant abilities, there are many most instructive passages. He took the ground boldly that the company had followed the plan revealed simply because it was the only way by which the desired legislation could be obtained; they found the lobby there and they used it; they found that banquets were useful in getting a proper view of things into the minds of legislators, and so they gave them freely. As for giving money to the newspapers, what Mr. Stearns thinks of that is worth printing in full:

"Then we are charged with corrupting the newspapers. With $7,500 we have bought the press of Boston. We have bought the press of Boston for $7,500. God save the mark. If the press of Boston can be bought for that sum, if it is so venal, then I don't think its influence is worth purchasing. We did just what everybody does to the press. They report only current news. If you want your speeches printed in the newspapers, you must pay for it. They will state the fact that you spoke; they will give ten lines of what you say, but that is all. If you want the speech reported in full, you must pay for it, and that we did."

That puts the "reading notice" in its proper light as one of the agents by which the public mind is deluded. Mr. Stearns appears to think that venality depends upon the amount of the bribe; but even the price which he thinks is so small as to constitute a proof of virtue would not have been paid if the publishers who took it had refused to print the speeches without accompanying them with some mark indicating that their publication had been purchased. They were printed as news, and were therefore a fraud on the public, and it was because they were a fraud that the $7,500 was paid for their publication. In this way they were used, like the banquets, to create a sentiment in favor of legislation which, whatever its merits or demerits, its promoters had not faith enough in to seek to obtain by the plain and ordinary methods of old-fashioned honesty. That it influenced the judgment of newspapers which received it is shown by their conduct now in advocating the passage of the West-End Bill by the House, even after these revelations. They take the ground openly that Boston needs an elevated railway so badly, and the proposal of the West End Company meets the need so well, that it would be an unjustifiable concession to mere "squeamishness" to refuse to pass the bill. They are even inclined to feel sorry for Mr. Williams because he has not succeeded in proving that any member was bought outright.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN JAPAN.

TOKIO, May, 1890.

THERE is an old Japanese saying, once current in Kioto, "Tenka hatto, mikka hatto" (Government laws are but three-day laws). The accepted import is, that the central Government, its officers and laws, constantly change, and their influence is but a passing one; the true source of social order lies in the customs and regulations of the home, the hamlet, and the city. Whether this was a genuine deduction from experience, or merely an adaptation of the Confucian maxim, "By good morals govern and tranquillize your homes, then govern and tranquillize the country," is perhaps a question. It is certain, however, that the local political life of the Japanese people under the Shogunate was far more active and important than one is allowed to gather from the dry annals of the military aristocracy which form the staple material of the ordinary histories, whether native or foreign.

To comprehend the conditions under which Japan will enter upon parliamentary government, we must have some knowledge of the degree of success with which the nation rules itself in local affairs. To convey some such information is my present object. It will be desirable, however, to glance first at the local political life which has been left behind. The available materials for its study are, unfortunately, not yet plentiful. I rely for such facts as I have obtained upon some translations (recently made for me) of scarce local histories, upon the manuscripts of Dr. D. B. Simmons (an able observer, recently deceased), to which I have had access, and upon some private lectures of Prof. Konakamura, reputed to be the most learned Japanese legal antiquarian.

It is a matter of general knowledge that the administration of the country (confining ourselves to the last 300 years) was parcelled out, under the Shoguns, between themselves, the eighteen greater daimios, and the lesser landed nobles; and that the last two classes maintained a certain amount of legislative independence, and surrounded themselves with a military body, the Samurai, for whose government codes of rules were formed. But these classes of the population (with few exceptions) were consumers only, not producers. In number they seldom, if ever, exceeded one-fifteenth of the whole population. Below them a great national life went on. Their particular regulations were but a small part of the usages and rules which secured social order and formed the characteristic law of the country.

The division of the daimiates for purposes of administration was, in its general features, simple enough. Each was divided into *mura* (villages or townships). Over the *mura* was a *nanushi* (called *shoya*, in the west). The general management of the producing population of the daimiate was placed by the lord of the soil in the hands of an officer called *kori-bugyo* (county superintendent), or, in the Shogun's dominions, *daikwan* (deputy). If the district exceeded a certain size, the title was *gundai* (county chief). Sometimes a *gundai* supervised several *daikwan*. Between the *nanushi* and the *daikwan* was often an *o* (chief)-*nanushi*. Below the *nanushi* were various officers—the *kumi-gashira* (company-chief), whose duties were executive, the *toshiyori* (elder), and *hyakusho-dai* (farmer-chief), whose offices were advisory.

In appearance this arrangement was merely a series of subdivisions of executive duties. In fact, there began at a certain point in the scale a vital distinction. Above that point all power was received from above; below it, all came from below. The *daikwan* and the *gundai* were always appointed by the central authority, in Bakufu (Shogunate) districts (*ken*) as well as in the other feudal divisions (*han*). The *nanushi*, on the other hand, were as a rule elected by the people (subject to approval by the *daikwan*). They were identified with the people, protected them against official severity, and were their representatives in all questions arising between the Government and the people. The *daikwan's* powers involved all that concerned the interests of the central Government. Roughly speaking, those interests were that the people should make the land yield the greatest possible returns, though this purpose was seldom carried out oppressively or from a short-sighted point of view. The *daikwan* and his assistants therefore supervised the system of irrigation and methods of cultivation, had full charge of taxation, assessed the lands (a matter of extreme complication), allowed rebates for crop failures, etc., and collected and forwarded the taxes. Besides this he had judicial functions, fixing land boundaries and hearing appeals from the justice meted out by local authorities. To many sequestered communities he was the em-

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bodiment of supreme authority, and Shogun and Mikado were only names.

In the local interests of the people, however, their own usages obtained. They had their own local expenses, their taxation and their financial problems. They repaired roads, each person owing a quantum of service. The *mura* owned grass-land and forests as public property, and made regulations for their use. As a rule all ordinary administration of justice, civil and criminal, began and ended within the borders of the *mura*. It was, to be sure, a life of customs, not codes; of arbitration, not litigation. The officers of the community were advisers, hardly rulers. The *nanushi*, although he was elected, and by ballot, too, was usually some patriarch, marked out beforehand by the general opinion. Spirited electioneering, however, sometimes took place; a tie vote was occasionally recorded. Curiously enough, a mere majority was not decisive; a clear preponderance of favor was required. Owners of land seem alone to have had the franchise, but other considerations were also of importance. To vote for one's self was a breach of good manners; one who once did so has been dishonorably immortalized in one of the old chronicles.

By the seventeenth century, if not before, certain of the local usages, mixed with regulations of the Bakufu and the Emperor, were customarily committed to writing as a sort of constitution. This document was signed and sealed by the head of every *go-nin-kumi* (five-person-company, a subdivision of the *mura* to some one of which every person must belong). It was called *na-yosei-cho* (name-collection-register), or, more simply, *kumi cho*. Of these documents, Dr. Simmons, in his journeys, saw many still remaining in all parts of the country. I know, however, of only four copies which are now accessible—one in the Imperial University Library, one among Dr. Simmons's papers, and two in my possession, sent by courteous officials in Chiba and Kioto. Future research in this field would be very fruitful.

Such, in outline, was the local self-government of the past. It was not everywhere the same; in details it varied widely. In the cities, particularly, it received a special development. But in general the elements remained the same.

Turning now to the story of local government since the Restoration down through the last twenty-three years, and compressing it into a sentence, it has been a veritable leading of the Israelites out of the wilderness, a deeply interesting instance of the systematic political education of a people. As a matter of course, broad modern influences have contributed much. There have been intervals, too, when other pressing problems forced a suspension of this work. Yet so far as governmental direction is concerned, it has certainly been a difficult task skilfully accomplished.

The period from 1867 to 1889 falls into two parts, dividing at the year 1878. The former was occupied with testing the capacity of the people for self-government; the latter with extending to them a larger and larger measure of power, and in advancing towards a proper degree of decentralization. At the beginning, however, the political situation was such that the establishment of a strong central power was the paramount requirement. The local divisions, as has been said, had been *ken* (Bakufu districts), and *han* (clans), with three *fu*, or metropolitan cities. By skilful management on the part of the Government, their object was gradually attained. The only measures relevant to our subject were the transformation, early in 1869, of *daimio* into temporary *chi-han ji* (clan-governors); and the final substitution for *han*, by decree of August 29, 1871, of a uniform system of *ken*, with *chi-ji* or *ken-rei* (governors) appointed by the Government. There were at that time three *fu* and sixty *ken*.

Meanwhile the foundation of the present system was laid by the decree of February 5, 1869, a sort of constitution for internal affairs. It provided for the uniform administration of *fu*, *han*, and *ken*, and regulated in general terms the principal departments of administration. For a while, at least, the old system was not in practice much altered. At the head of the *mura* was the *ko cho* (sometimes still called *nanushi*) with his assistants. The popular favorite was usually appointed by the Governor. Several *mura* together formed a *kori* or *dai-ku* (county), under a *ku-cho*, who was usually selected from among the *ko-cho*. The *ken-rei* had charge practically of the entire administration, and served as a judicial officer as well. The police were controlled from Tokio.

But a step forward was soon taken. The third clause of the decree of February, 1869, read: "Holding of assemblies. When existing laws are to be amended or new ones to be enacted, public opinion shall be consulted, so that legislation may be impartial and the people may be content." Within two months' time an assembly chosen by popular vote had been summoned in Osaka, and in the course of a few years a system of ward (*ku*) assemblies was added. *Gi-ji-sho* (parliament) was at first the general term used, but *kwai* (assembly) has since come into general use for local bodies. During the next eight years this example was followed with increasing frequency. The credit of the next assemblies seems to belong to the *ken* of Yamaguchi and Hiogo; and after these to Chiba, Niigata, Oita, and others. In Tokio no popular assembly seems to have been formed, but only an assembly composed of the heads of smaller districts. Indeed, in Chiba *ken* the members were at first *ku-cho* and *ko-cho* only, but they soon began to be elected by the people. So too, in this *ken*, the presiding officer, at first the *ken rei* himself, came to be one of the members, chosen by themselves. In this *ken*, it may be added, *ku-cho* and *ko-cho* were chosen by popular election for some years before the law of 1878.

While on the one hand the people were beginning to take part in the management of local affairs, the process of decentralization had begun. As early as 1873 the Government had by a general order recommended the *ken-rei* to establish local school departments, and to have the officials elected by the people; and the measure was very generally carried out. In 1876 the judicial functions (which in 1872 had been in many districts taken from the *ken-rei* and placed under the Government) were vested in a series of courts, one *Daishin-In* (Supreme Court), one *Koso-In* (Superior Court) having four circuits, and a *Saiban-sho* (court of first instance) in the capital of each *fu* and *ken*. Justices' courts were afterwards established here and there in the larger towns. The first two had been established in the previous year, but were now reorganized.

Finally, in the early part of 1878, at a meeting of the *Chiho-kwan Kwai gi* (assembly of local officials) held in Tokio, the Government submitted a bill establishing popular assemblies in each *fu* and *ken*. A similar bill had been submitted to the same body in 1875, and they had declared in favor of constituting such assemblies of the appointed *ku-cho* and *kc-cho* only; but the Government had concluded that the time was ripe for something better than that. The measure became a law on July 22. It was liberal and modern in spirit and in detail, though it simply introduced the assembly to a share in deliberation, and gave no complete legislative power.

On the same day were published a law naming the various purposes (schools, police, roads, etc.) the taxes for which were to be laid by the local government; and a law dividing *ken* into *gun* (counties) and *son* (villages or townships), and dividing *fu* into *ku* (wards) and *cho* (precincts). A law of July 25 revised the law of 1869, and provided for the appointment of subordinate officers by the Governor. On August 26 it was ordered that the heads of *cho* and *son* should be elected by the people, subject to the approval of the Governor.

The first three of these laws have been called *San Dai Shimpo* (The Three Great Laws). On the same July 22 it had also been decreed that "in each of the *fu* and *ken*, *ku*, *cho*, and *son* assemblies are to be held, as soon as circumstances permit, to determine the amount of taxes for such district." In a few years such assemblies had come into general existence, and uniform regulations, dating from 1881, but revised in 1884, modelled them after their provincial predecessors.

In the period beginning with 1878 the local-government system has advanced steadily, if slowly, in the direction of a greater decentralization and a broader popular prerogative. Under the first head we may notice: in 1880, the relinquishment to the local government of taxation for prisons and public works; in 1881, the establishment of local committees (appointed) and assemblies (elected) for agriculture, trade, and commerce, and the granting of the power to establish local educational boards; in 1882, a further extension of the sphere of local taxation; in 1885, greater freedom in shaping local educational methods; in 1886, a revision of the administrative system, giving wider powers to local officials; in 1888, the surrender of the *fu kin* (licensed-prostitution tax) to the local governments. Under the second head may be noted: in 1879, the exemption of Assembly members from arrest during a session without consent of the President; in 1880, the substitution of the Assembly President for the Governor as the one to pass upon resignations and requests for leave of absence, the grant to Assembly of the power to expel members for neglect of duty, and to address the Government in criticism upon the Governor; and in 1887, a greater accountability of the Governor to the Assembly in reporting details of work.

Practically a new period begins with 1889. A new and comprehensive law for city (*shi*), town (*cho*), and village (*son*) government was submitted to the Senate (*Genro-In*) in 1887, and to the Assembly of Local Officials in 1888, and was enacted April 14, 1888, going into effect April 1, 1889. By it the local subdivisions are somewhat changed, a *gun* (county) being now divided into communities of three classes (*shi*, *cho*, and *son*), graded according to population, and each with a popular assembly; and each *fu* consisting of one main "city," with suburban districts. Ward (*ku*) assemblies may be established when desired. A few of the notable features are (1) the use of certain terms new to the language, such as *komin* (citizen); (2) the declaration of the principle that "a city, town, or village shall be considered as a juristic person," that is, as a municipal corporation, not merely an administrative subdivision; (3) the election of mayors (*shi-*, *cho-*, and *son-cho*) by the city, town, or village assembly; (4) the division of the electors into classes according to the amount of taxes paid, each class electing an equal number of rep-

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resentatives—a system similar to that in vogue in Hamburg, Brunswick, and other German cities; and (5) the creation of a second or aldermanic chamber. A similarly comprehensive law reorganizing the *fu* and *ken* governments will soon be issued.

Such has been the progress of local self-government in the Meiji period. The difficulty of obtaining accurate information on the subject is very great, and I can hardly hope that the preceding account is entirely without error. My object has been not to describe in detail the system as it exists, but rather to call attention to the steadiness with which progress has been made, the spirit in which the Government has carried out the work, and the carefulness with which the institutions have been adapted to the condition of the people. How far the people themselves have risen to the occasion I propose to notice in another letter.

JOHN H. WIGMORE.

Correspondence.

REINFORCEMENT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There is hardly a number of your paper which does not furnish me with a text. Last week's contains no less than three, of such crushing force that it seems as if they only needed to be stated to carry conviction.

(1.) The reckless appropriations both by the Senate and the House threaten to convert our surplus into a deficit. But is not that the natural result of an arrangement under which everybody has an interest in expenditure and nobody in economy? If you prepare a rich and sumptuous feast, and then let a dozen hungry men into the room with nobody to guard it, can you wonder if, in the course of an hour, the feast has disappeared? Every Senator and every member of the House represents a locality, and is anxious to secure the largest possible share of the national expenditure, with a wholly disproportionate interest in defending the Treasury, which has no official defender. It is for this reason that the forcible argument of Mr. Plumb of Kansas, quoted by you, fell so flat. How different would the same words in the same place have sounded if uttered by Mr. Windom!

(2) Your sketch of the silver debate in the Senate shows this and much more. It shows how, under the five-minute rule and with unlimited power of moving and taking a vote on amendments, a few sharp, shrewd men, with a keen, selfish interest, can manipulate and disorganize a large body of which no member has any direct interest or authority to make a determined stand against them. Very few Senators can have a direct interest in the Silver Bill; it is certainly not any doctrine of the Republican party, and it would be a very poor compliment to a body occupying such a position before the world as the United States Senate to say that its members did not understand the injurious effect upon the country. It is a pure case of weakness of defence against attack. The only hope now, and a faint one, is a veto by the President. The silver-men will take care to bring such pressure on him that he would be more than human to resist it. And even if he does, it leaves the field open for another attempt next year. How different it would have been if the official defender of the Treasury and of the national interest had followed every stage of the bill, open to cross-examination by independent members and looked to by the country to explain its effect.

(3.) Mr. Blaine has written a letter criticising the action of the Senate on the Tariff Bill, and the President has transmitted it to the Senate, which has received it with the most fatal of all weapons—silence. A bit of newspaper gossip quotes Mr. Blaine as saying that he would give two years of his life for a chance to debate the bill in the Senate. Why on earth should he not have it? We may not agree with him or his methods; but one or two days of open debate, with himself and Mr. Windom taking the lead, would do more to enlighten and arouse public opinion than years of the lobbying and intrigue which are now the only methods of settling the tariff question. Mr. Blaine could do no better service to the country or his own reputation than by giving those two years or more to an appeal to the people to compel the Senate to give to him, or to his successors, that chance which it will never give of its own accord.

G. B.

BOSTON, June 28, 1890.

THE NATIONAL FINANCES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In view of the almost universal complaint—more especially by the agricultural interest of the country—of the burden and inequality of Federal taxation, it seems important that certain points connected with the same, not immediately bearing on the questions of free trade or protection, should at the present time be especially pressed upon the attention of the American public.

The amount of money necessary to meet the expenditures of the Federal Government for the fiscal year commencing July 1, 1890, was estimated by Secretary Windom in his report for December, 1889, at $341,400,000. The appropriations already authorized by the present Congress, or certain to be authorized, will increase these figures to an excess of $400,000,000. But for the sake of argument, and in order to avoid anything of hypothesis, let $400,000,000 be assumed as the correct figures.

Now, as the Federal Government never has any money except that which the people give it through the agency of taxation, and as the people as a whole never have any money to give except what comes to them as the result of their work, or from an exchange of the products of their work, it is clear, as Mr. Atkinson has shown in one of his recent essays, that what the Government really wants of its people, when it calls upon them for taxes, is work, and that the methods of taxation are only methods for collecting and using the products of work. If we assume that the average earnings of the larger part of the people who work with their hands in the United States are one dollar per day (and this is an over-estimate, for the average wages of those who follow agriculture for a living are not in excess of eighty-five cents), then four hundred millions of expenditure by the Federal Government next year, will mean four hundred millions of day's work; or, in other words, for every dollar that the Government of the United States expends, somebody must do a whole day's work to furnish it.

Even if the highest estimate be put upon the per-capita product of the whole country—including a valuation of the domestic consumption of farmers and farm laborers—the average earnings of each person occupied for gain in all arts and all branches of mental, manual, or mechanical work cannot exceed two dollars for each working day, or $600 a year, on which three persons depend for their support, giving a gross product of sixty-six and two-thirds cents each. Deducting the domestic consumption of farmers, the cost of State and municipal government, and the necessary addition to the capital of the nation, the net average earnings of the whole population from which national taxes are to be taken cannot exceed fifty cents a day, or what fifty cents a day will buy. Multiply by three, and the maximum average wages or earnings of every one occupied for gain, from the president of the great railway system covering thousands of miles to the scrub who washes the floor of the station, cannot exceed $1.50 per day. How unequally this is divided every one may estimate. But is the burden of national taxation which takes six dollars' worth of work out of each one hundred and fifty of product, or thirty dollars' worth of the product of each family of five persons who live on an income of seven hundred and fifty dollars a year, apportioned equitably in respect to income? Far from it; for, as a matter of fact, the cost of the National Government, estimated at $400,000,000 per annum, represents not less than twenty days' work at $1.50 a day out of 300 days in the service of each family of five persons; and *the less the income the greater the burden of* work required.

The question which next naturally suggests itself is, What are the people who will work next year 400,000,000 days—in heat and cold, on the farm, in the forge, mine, factory, shop, and counting-room, in the cab of the locomotive, or on the deck of the vessel, with pick and shovel, hammer and shuttle, with nimble fingers, skilful pen, and educated brain—in order to give their Government the money it says it must take from them next year, to receive in return for such working? A correct answer, expressed in general terms, and which every citizen who keeps a general run of the details of government ought to be able to frame for himself, would be as follows:

Work contributed in the form of taxes to the Government, and wisely expended by it for the insuring of security to life and property, the administration of justice, general education, general health, and improved facilities for the intercommunication of intelligence and the reduction of the expenses of transportation, brings with it the fullest equivalent of recompense or profit to the individual or community contributing. But work performed and contributed to Government in the form of taxes which in turn are expended for other purposes—as for the building of enormous "iron clad" vessels which are likely to be obsolete before they are completed, and which, if the advice of Washington, to avoid intermeddling with foreign nations, is heeded, will never be wanted; or for the payment of pensions to persons who having no just claim on the Government, have other and adequate means of support, and no right to ask other citizens to work for them; or for the purchase and hoarding of enormous quantities of silver under the pretence that it is needed as the basis of currency, when an equally good and sufficient currency can be provided not only without expense, but with a profit to the people, by the Government; or for enabling people to make livings or fortunes by unnaturally advancing the prices of commodities—is work that entails unnecessary labor upon the worker, favors the unequal distribution of wealth, and in its influence is antagonistic to the principles and existence of a free and democratic form of government.

Let no man whose daily earnings are essential to meet his daily needs deceive himself with the idea, that because no Federal tax-collector makes a personal demand on him for taxes, he does not perform the labor that is em-

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bodied in and produces them. With a very few exceptions, all the revenue—money—that the Federal Government receives is derived from taxes on commodities, or things which people consume in their living or use in their labor; and is paid, in the first instance, by those who consume or use them. And it needs no argument to prove that the burden of such taxes must be disproportionately heavier on the man who from necessity expends all or nearly all his earnings on living than on him who only expends one-half, one-third, or a smaller proportion of them for like purposes, and lays up the surplus for increasing his income. Neither should it be overlooked that, under the existing system of deriving revenue from taxes on commodities, the poor are not unfrequently required to perform proportionally more work to earn them than the rich, because the taxes levied on the articles of a given class of commodities consumed by the poor—as is notably the case with woollen goods—are much heavier than on those consumed by the rich.

But assuming that four hundred millions of dollars ($400,000,000) must now be annually collected of the people of the United States to meet the expenditures of the Federal Government, there will probably be a unanimity of public opinion that this amount should be obtained in the most economical and effective manner, and with the least burden and annoyance to those who are to be called upon to contribute work in the form of taxes. But to what extent can such a result be compassed by sure and simple methods? Let us see.

The revenue derived during the fiscal year 1889 from the existing taxes on distilled spirits and wines was $74,312,200 internal, $7,123,062 customs; total, $81,435,268.

From malt or fermented liquors $23,723,835 internal, $663,337 customs; total, $24,387,172.

From tobacco $31,866,860 internal; $11,194,486 customs; total, $43,061,346.

From sugar and molasses $55,995,137.

Here, then, from the above-enumerated four articles or classes of articles, $204,878,923, or a fraction over one-half of the $400,000,000 required to defray the annual expenses of the Federal Government, can be certainly and easily collected. In respect to three of these articles or classes of articles—liquors and tobacco—from which $148,883,786, or 37 per cent. of the required revenue of four hundred millions, is now raised, it is entirely optional with the citizen whether he will assess himself and act as tax-collector for the Government, or not. And in respect to the fourth article or class, namely, sugar, although the rate of taxation is high—70 per cent. in 1889—it would be difficult to name any commodity in general use which could be taxed with a view to revenue with so little of burden to consumers and so little of detriment to industry. It is so largely produced, dealt in, and consumed, and enters to so small an extent as a crude material into other industries, that it comes to the consumer less burdened with other than Government taxes, merchants' profits, and expenses of distribution than almost any commodity that can be mentioned. Of all articles retailed, sugar is the one whose cost is least augmented by retailing, and, in fact, is said to be often sold by grocers without any profit as a means of attracting other trade. And yet, by a not inconsiderable portion of the American people, it is believed to be good public policy to throw away all, or nearly all, the advantages accruing from retaining the above enumerated sources of revenue, by totally abolishing the internal-revenue system, and not only repealing the present customs revenue of $55,000,000 on sugar, but making the occasion of such repeal a reason for augmenting the existing taxes to the extent of at least seven millions of dollars in the way of bounties on its domestic production. Has there ever been in the whole history of taxation anything more palpably absurd, or such a demonstration, on the part of all responsible persons, of inability to exercise common sense?

Is it not self-evident, also, if four hundred millions must every year be collected from the people to meet the expenditures of the Federal Government, and if the consumption of liquors, tobacco, and sugar is to be no longer regarded and utilized as a proper source for supplying some two hundred millions of this requirement, that the immense sum thus diverted and abandoned will have to be collected just the same; and that, too, by spreading an equal aggregate of taxes over a multitude of other commodities, involving increased expense and annoyance in collecting, increased burdens upon domestic industries, and increased opportunities for using taxation for the promotion of private rather than public interests?

The increase in recent years in Federal expenditures, and consequently in taxation, is also worthy the attention of the American people. Between 1870 and 1880 the increase in the net ordinary expenditures of the Federal Government, exclusive of interest and payments on the national debt (which payments represent the legitimate continuing burden of the war), was less than 4 per cent., or from $164,421,000 to $169,000,000, while the increase during the same period in population was 30.08 per cent. But between 1880 and 1889, inclusive, the increase in the same class of national expenditures, notwithstanding a reduction in the annual burden of interest of $57,000,000, was over 42 per cent., while the increase in population during these same years could not have been in excess of 30 per cent.

A burden of annual taxation of $400,000,000 on a population of sixty-six millions is a little over $6 per capita, or $30 on every family of five persons; but the ultimate burden of a system of indirect taxation on imported commodities on the final consumer of such commodities is certainly considerably greater. Recent investigations in this matter instituted in the English colony of New Zealand, where the revenue of the State, derived mainly from customs taxes on imports collected from a sparse population, affords unusual facilities for investigation, indicate that the burden of such taxation is increased to the final consumers of the taxed articles to the extent of at least 33 per cent. In the United States the increment is probably much greater. The average burden of Federal taxation for the next fiscal year will therefore certainly be at least $40 on every family, and promises in the immediate future to be greater rather than less. To the man with an income of $20 per day, or some $6,000 per annum, this is not much, but to the farmer who is raising and selling corn for 15 cents a bushel, and to the operatives in the great leading mechanical industries of the country, whose annual incomes average less than $400, it means deprivation.

DAVID A. WELLS.

THE LOUISVILLE POST-OFFICE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In view of some of President Harrison's recent performances as a civil-service reformer, I wish to call attention to the Louisville Post-office as furnishing an illustration of his sincerity, without which no collection of cases would be complete.

The term of the present Postmistress expired more than a month ago. She has held the office for twelve consecutive years, having been first appointed by Mr. Hayes. As far as one can judge, she has proved an exceptionally efficient and progressive official. There has been as little "politics" connected with her administration as has been possible under a "spoils" régime. It is true that, after her reappointment by President Cleveland, a few Republicans gave way to as many Democrats; and likewise, after the inauguration of President Harrison, these same Democrats were supplanted by their opponents. But, while the Postmistress cannot for these reasons be called a civil-service reformer, the changes in question have been comparatively few and have been slowly made; the damage has been perhaps as slight as possible, and her concessions to partisan spirit have probably saved us from a "clean sweep," such as a new appointment would have involved. Besides, her employees have never displayed offensive partisan activity.

The objections to her reappointment now, however, do not rest upon the pretence that she has been, on the one hand, an incompetent official, or, on the other, that she has not been an ideal reformer. The former would be manifestly false; the latter would not trouble the party leaders either here or at Washington. The sole ground, then, upon which she is opposed is this, that, under the management of a woman, the Louisville Post-office counts for nothing as a political factor; the chief point made by the other applicants, that they can make the office tell in favor of the party in general at all times, and in favor of Mr. Harrison in particular in 1892.

It is reported that the President personally favors Mrs. Thompson's retention; the Postmaster-General is supposed to differ from him. Now, admitting, as every one does, that nothing but a political consideration stands in the way of her reappointment, how long, I ask, would such opposition hinder a President honestly bent upon civil-service reform? Nay, more, would such an Executive suffer himself for a moment to be surrounded by advisers whose conduct in this case, as often before, betrays their complete contempt for the cause he has pretended to favor? Mrs. Thompson may, it is true, still be reappointed; but as her fitness has never been questioned, very slight weight can, in that event, be claimed for the fact that she has already proved a capable official. Luckily enough, she has warm friends among those classes of people in whom our pious Chief Magistrate especially trusts, and with whom he devoutly wishes to be numbered. Assuredly the friction of political activity must have worn off the fine edge of the Postmaster-General's religious feeling, else he too would certainly throw the weight of his influence with that of the rest of the godly. But, however Mr. Wanamaker's strange departure may be explained, the President is far more anxious not to offend Mrs. Thompson's friends than he is to give the people of Louisville a competent Postmaster. Were this last the sole consideration, Mrs. Thompson would have been promptly renominated; the delay in the settlement of the matter marks the painful process by which the Executive mind is trying to determine whether Mrs. Thompson's friendship or a politician in the Post-office will avail him most two years hence.

A. F.

Louisville, Ky., June 20, 1890.

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AN INQUIRY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I have read with great satisfaction your arraignment of certain pious humbugs as "book-thieves" and "pirates," and am astonished that such a Mount Sinai of morality as your valued paper undoubtedly is should print the following advertisement: "By putting a few chemicals in ordinary cooking gelatine we have enabled American publishers to sell a full set of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' for $38.50, while the English edition costs $190 per set." Why not advertise kits of burglars' tools accompanied by the information that they were used with great success in a recent well-known bank-robbery?

Very respectfully yours,
Charles Edward Stowe.

Lenox, Mass., June 27, 1890.

[We have already, in reply to a similar protest, given reasons for not attempting to discriminate, in our advertising columns, between the grosser and the smaller violators of the copyright principle. As regards the ingenious and useful invention by which whole books are now as readily reproduced as engravings hitherto have been, the abuse of it is again something that we must leave the public to correct. There is nothing in the process itself immoral, and, in fact, as we are informed, the illegitimate demands upon it are far behind the legitimate—as where a costly copyright book printed from type needs to be renewed in answer to a fresh call, which would not, nevertheless, justify the prime cost of manufacture; or where it is desired to avoid the errors of resetting, as in the case of logarithmic tables; or where the plates have been destroyed by fire, etc. Undoubtedly, the achievement of converting the 'Britannica' into a cheap and popular work is the best evidence of the excellence of the process, and as such is naturally put forward in an advertisement. We do not absolve the firm in question from the moral responsibility we lay upon their piratical patrons; but Mr. Stowe will see that he might as well exact of us exclusion of their advertisement because we *know* them to have made the 'Britannica' reproduction, as because they proclaim it themselves. As well might we turn away advertisements of Wanamaker's store, or of Funk & Wagnalls's *Literary Digest* or *Homiletic Review*.—Ed. Nation.]

SHORTENING THE COLLEGE COURSE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the discussion excited by the proposal to cut down the academic course at Harvard University from four years to three, the fact seems to have been overlooked that the collegiate course at the Johns Hopkins University has, ever since the founding of that institution, extended over but three years. The proposition is discussed with all the spice of a perfectly new subject, whereas it has been in successful operation for fourteen years, in one of the most progressive universities in the country.

The undergraduate department of the Johns Hopkins University, although less widely known than the graduate department, is no less thorough. Those pursuing the collegiate course are largely under the instruction of the same professors as the graduate students, and, what is more important, the same spirit of application and love of study is rife among both. If we were to test the feelings on the subject of those connected with the University, the unanimous testimony of all would, I feel sure, be that three years spent in preparation for the degree of Bachelor of Arts is ample, at least for the average student. There is nothing, however, to prevent his taking four, or even five years, to fulfil the requirements, if he deem it necessary.

Neither of the possible objections mentioned in your editorial is felt to have any weight. There has never been any "long-established custom" of having a four-year course, so that the three-year course is not thought of as an innovation. The other objection to the plan, that the "process of absorbing intellectual influence is thereby diminished," is, I think, more than obviated by a higher matriculation standard and increased application and concentration on a somewhat smaller number of studies.

The real meaning of the word "education" is kept in view, that it is not a mere cramming with facts, however useful and interesting, but a development of the human mind, so that it may be able to grapple successfully with the great problems of life which may in the future present themselves. And this, it is claimed, is accomplished at least as well in the three years of concentrated study in the undergraduate department of the Johns Hopkins University, as in many of the colleges which still retain the time-honored four-year course.

R. E. Carson.

Baltimore, Md., June 23, 1890.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In a recent editorial you again discuss the question whether the course of Harvard should be cut down from four to three years, as President Eliot proposes. You say that the objections are raised on two grounds only: first, an unreasoning faith in the time-honored course of a Freshman, a Sophomore, a Junior, and a Senior year; secondly, the wish that the cultivating influence of the University should not last any shorter time than it does now, and the belief that less than four years will not exert a lasting effect.

My objections rest on entirely different grounds, and are coupled with a very tangible remedy for the supposed evils arising from the inordinate length of the present course.

For those who wish to devote themselves to a scientific or literary course of life, a study of four years after "ripeness" to enter Harvard, is not too much. Johns Hopkins has cut down her course to three years, and, as a consequence, has more post-graduate than undergraduate hearers. Even at Harvard there are many whom the four years' academic course does not satisfy. But men who wish, after taking their bachelor's degree, to study law, medicine, or divinity thoroughly—that is, to study one of those branches for three years—find that they are too old (about twenty-five or twenty-six) before they can enter upon a profession; eighteen *plus* four *plus* three being equal to twenty-five. They are perfectly right. But there is no reason in the world why any one who proposes to take the degree of M.D. or D.D. or B.L. should have his degree of A.B. in his pocket before entering upon his professional studies, except the notion prevailing in England and America, but nowhere else, that a degree in law, medicine, or divinity is no proof of learning in the holder, but only a certificate that he may earn his bread by healing people, attending to their lawsuits, or preaching to them. On the continent of Europe it is different, and no one there who prepares himself to become a lawyer, physician, or preacher ever thinks of first attending for four years or even for three years the lectures of a "philosophical faculty," which faculty corresponds in every way—especially in the age of its students—to a course at Harvard or Johns Hopkins.

It was not always and everywhere thus. Before 1848, the "Latin School" in Austria took boys from the age of ten to that of sixteen; they then were deemed ripe for the University, but had there to take a two-years' course in "philosophy" before entering the law, medical, or divinity schools. Now the "Latin School" of six years has been turned into the "Gymnasium" of eight years, and "philosophy" for law or medical students is very properly dropped. The old Austrian system was pretty much the same as that of Harvard of the same time; for sixteen was then the ordinary age for entering college, and a boy of that age might well go on for two or even for four years to broaden his general culture.

The Harvard catalogue of 1889 shows that nearly all the divinity students, 80 per cent. of the law students, and 47 per cent. of the medical students held a college degree. Under these circumstances it would be no hardship to demand of every one who wishes to enter any one of the three schools as a regular student, that he should be fitted for the *second* year of the academic course. The group of studies in the first year in which he should be examined on admission might be prescribed for each of the three professional courses: for instance, those who wish to enter the Law School must take the historico-political group of studies. This being done, the academic character of the students in the three "schools" would be guaranteed. There could be no boors among them simply trying to get to money-making in the shortest possible time. In the next place, no young men without culture being in the schools, a plan of teaching the three professions could be introduced, treating them as branches of learning. A source of legal lore, for instance, need not be neglected simply because it is accessible only in French or Latin. A physical demonstration need not be skipped in the Medical School because its proper understanding requires a knowledge of trigonometry. The comparative method, the true basis of all modern science, can be followed even in theology, when only men trained to the age of nineteen in scientific habits are to be dealt with.

But one thing more is necessary. The attendants at the professional schools ought to be made to feel that they are children, not mere step-children, of the Alma Mater. A first-year law student must be considered a Sophomore, a third-year law student a Senior. The degree from the professional schools should constitute its holder an alumnus of Harvard, upon an exact footing with the Bachelor of Arts, entitled in like manner with him to take a part in the government of the institution. Then the students of the three schools will no longer have any motive for wasting their best years in the academic course.

These very simple, and, in the present condition of things, easy and practicable changes would give to Harvard University, what it now lacks, a plainly visible purpose, making it a place to educate (1) literary and scientific men, (2) learned lawyers, (3) learned physicians, (4) learned ministers, and put it exactly on the footing with the universities of Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Italy, the Netherlands, etc., to which it has gradually

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been tending. The exclusion of law and medicine from the course of academic instruction at Oxford and Cambridge is one of the many accidents and peculiarities in English life and customs, of which America ought long ago to have got rid altogether.

Very respectfully, L. N. D.

LOUISVILLE, KY., June 22, 1890.

Notes.

A COMPLETE catalogue of the late Dr. Döllinger's library is in course of preparation, and will be published at an early date. Copies of it may be procured by applying to Fräulein Döllinger, at No. 11 Von der Tannstrasse, Munich, Germany. It is to be hoped that some American university may be so fortunate as to secure this extremely valuable collection of books.

A new volume of Dr. Döllinger's academical addresses ('Akademische Vorträge'), containing among other discourses that on "The Influence of North America in Literature," is already in press. Also, a Life of Pius IX., a treatise on the Council of Trent, an essay on the Inquisition, and a correspondence with the Papal Nuncio, the Archbishop of Munich-Freising, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, touching the Vatican decrees, have been found among his posthumous papers, and will shortly appear in print.

A second edition of 'Aryan Sun Myths: the Origin of Religions,' by Sarah E. Titcomb, will be published by the author herself at 83 Pinckney Street, Boston.

A revised edition of Prof. Jesse Macy's 'Our Government' is set down for July by Ginn & Co., Boston.

'Toxar,' by the author of 'Thoth,' is announced by Longmans, Green & Co.

A new translation from the German of W. Heimburg, by Mrs. J. W. Davis, 'Lucie's Mistake,' will be published immediately by Worthington Co.

The American Economic Association will soon have ready a monograph on canals, in two parts, viz., "The Canal and the Railway, with a note on the Development of Railway Passenger Traffic," by Prof. E. J. James, and 'Canals and their Economic Relation to Transportation,' by Prof. L. M. Haupt. It may be had of the Secretary, Prof. Richard T. Ely, Baltimore.

A work which it does not fall within our province to criticise, the 'Cyclopædia of Manufactures and Products of the United States,' published in this city by the Seeger & Guernsey Co., nevertheless has an interest for not a few of our readers, and deserves mention. The merest glance at it shows it to have been executed in a very orderly and painstaking way. The arrangement is alphabetical of departments, but there is also a copious index to articles which renders reference easy, whether one is in search of "Advertising Thermometers," "Films, Photographic," "Garments, Dress-Reform," "Quarter Sawed Lumber," "Teething Rings," "Yeast Cakes," or "Zinc Tubing," etc., etc. This is information convenient not only for shippers, but for the mass of private purchasers. The list of firms, though liberal, is not exhaustive, but selective—another merit in the 'Cyclopædia.' The volume is beautifully printed.

'Brown's Directory of American Gas Companies' (New York: E. C. Brown) comes to us in its third issue. The capital, financial condition, population supplied, rates, and other statistics are clearly tabulated for the northern continent. Electric light and power are often combined with gas in the enterprises recorded. Natural-gas companies are grouped by themselves.

No title could well be more obscure and misleading than 'Derivation of Practical Electrical Units,' by Lieut. F. B. Badt and Prof. H. S. Carhart (Chicago: Electrician Publishing Co.). Besides a table of these units, the little book consists mainly of brief biographies of "all the eminent scientists by whose names the practical units are or were designated," accompanied by portraits in every case except that of Coulomb.

The 'Musical Year-Book of the United States' reaches its seventh issue in recording the season of 1889-'90 (Boston: G. H. Wilson). New American compositions and American compositions performed abroad are carefully noted.

Dr. Francis H. Rankin's 'Hygiene of Childhood' (Appletons) is a wise, unpretentious little book that parents should like to read and its precepts follow. It is untechnical, but inspired with professional wisdom and experience; and the more widely such literature is circulated, the better for the generations that succeed. This combines good style and sound sense, and appeals to every head of a family.

Dr. Louis Barkan has added another item to the long roll of books about ourselves in 'How to Preserve Health' (New York: Exchange Printing Co.). Hygiene and morals have much in common; and this particular book, like some sermons, is excellent in matter, but not especially inviting in style.

The success of their popular edition of Charles Kingsley's works (of which 'Hereward the Wake' is last to hand) has encouraged Macmillan & Co. to put out a very large edition of 'Tom Brown's School Days' in the same style, but with illustrations. We regret afresh the necessity for such condensed typography.

The "German Webster," or Moriz Heyne's 'Deutsches Wörterbuch,' completes its first of three volumes with the letter G (Leipzig: S. Hirzel; New York: B. Westermann & Co.). The preface, reserved to accompany the last half of vol. i., states the author's conviction, as a colaborer on the Grimm Lexicon, that that work, when completed, will never have the domestic use anticipated for it by its projector. Hence his attempt to carry out the idea in his own way. Dr. Heyne omits provincial and obsolete vocables in order to bring his work within moderate compass, and technical expressions are sparingly admitted; on the side of etymology, ignorance is frankly confessed in cases of doubt. The references to the literary sources are exact, and a list of these sources will accompany the final volume. The examples cited are in Roman type. This does much to relieve the appearance of the page, of which the impression is noticeably distinct. Dr. Heyne has had the assistance of his wife as a literary reader in his ten years' labor.

A fourth volume of the Papers of the American Historical Association opens with the quarterly issues for January and April, containing official reports and the following papers: "Recent Historical Work in the Colleges and Universities of Europe and America," by President Adams of Cornell; "A Catechism of the Revolutionary Reaction," by ex-President White; and "The Origin of the National Scientific and Educational Institutions of the United States," by Dr. G. Brown Goode. This last is an historical inquiry of decided value, replete with curious information. Thus, in a foot-note to page 73, the rise of the "agricultural experiment station" is sketched, and we are told that no fewer than forty-six now exist (one State having as many as three), and employ nearly 400 experimenters. The origin of the National Observatory and John Quincy Adams's efforts towards it make one of the most interesting episodes in Dr. Goode's review.

Dr. Jeffrey R. Brackett has supplemented his monograph on 'The Negro in Maryland: A Study of the Institution of Slavery,' with 'Notes on the Progress of the Colored People of Maryland since the War,' which appears as a triple number (vii-viii-ix) of the eighth series of the Johns Hopkins University Studies. It is, on the whole, a cheering exhibit. The admission of colored men to the jury-box and the bar is one of the greatest strides; and another is the abolition of color distinction in cases of bastardy.

The last Quinquennial Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates of Harvard University, which appeared in 1885, was, it is now to be seen, the last in which Latin was employed instead of the vernacular. The new Catalogue for 1890, which can be had of Charles W. Sever, Cambridge, sticks to the vernacular throughout, and for the first time the names are printed as they were borne by their owners. This reform is noteworthy as happening in the year when it is proposed to cut down the College term by one-fourth, in final breach with the domination of the classics, the excessive study of which we may fairly estimate to have involved the loss of a year. Another significant change is the abandonment of the use of italics to denote the clergy among the graduate bachelors of arts. This time-honored practice seemed in deference to the college motto, "Christo et Ecclesiæ," which is still retained on the seal, but henceforth with a very broad interpretation. Improvement is also visible in the more elegant typography.

Harvard's great genealogist, Mr. Henry F. Waters, has, in the London *Athenæum* of June 14, an elaborate defence of his Washington pedigree, which has been more plentifully than wisely impeached across the water.

In the Syracuse *Academy* for June, Mr. Henry L. Coar has a paper, "When and How Geometry Should be Taught," which is one more symptom of a drift of opinion in the right direction. Those who hold that the study of geometry is postponed too long, and should be, in the elements at least, a part of primary education, in conjunction with arithmetic and in advance of algebra, will read Mr. Coar's paper with interest.

— The July *Atlantic* has a list of articles of very even strength and interest. Mr. Cook's study of the character and career of Richard Henry Lee brings forward one of the most brilliant and effective figures of the Revolution, whose fame has hardly proved equal to his services. Chance deprived him of the honor of drafting the Declaration of Independence, and no other single occasion arose by which he might have been identified with a great historical moment, for his work of incorporating a Bill of Rights in the Constitution by the first amendments does not stand out as a conspicuous personal action. The oratory of Patrick Henry has eclipsed his own in the tradition of the country; and yet, whether as orator or statesman, or as a practical worker in Government business, he seems to have deserved more than he has received in the regard of history. His affinity with Sam Adams is remarked upon in this article, and his democratic principles in opposition to the aristocratic temperament of Virginia are strongly emphasized, from the moment of his maiden speech against slavery, to the latter days when he wished to emigrate to Massachusetts in order to live in a social order

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consonant with his convictions. His life illustrates the accidental nature of posthumous fame, and its frequent dependence upon events more than on persons. Prof. Hart contributes a timely and very thorough article upon the present condition of athletics in colleges, and explains the growth of the joint control of sports at Harvard by the Faculty, graduates, and students; he takes a conservative and reasonable view. Prof. Carpenter writes with interest of the literary language of Norway. Prof. Shaler suggests an association for the systematic study of the negro in America. Mr. Merwin continues his papers upon horses, with a spirited account of Fire-horses, in which are several anecdotes of equine habits and character. No reader of this number of the *Atlantic* should overlook the exceptionally fine verses on Wendell Phillips by a namesake.

—*Scribner's* contains a curious piece of secret history in Dr. George Howe's narrative of the voyage of the last slave-ship. He shipped suddenly and unthinkingly, it would seem, as a doctor on board a ship which was to carry a cargo of emancipated slaves to Liberia, and only when on the open sea discovered that he was on a slaver, which had taken this cargo in order to get to the coast of Africa unsuspected. There was a scheme on the part of the captain to take the negroes they had and sell them, but this was not concurred in by the Spaniards in charge, and the ship went to its destination only to find that it was to be strictly watched. The doctor, who was just out of college, stayed with the ship, partly by accident and partly in a spirit of adventure, and landed on the Congo Coast, obtaining glimpses of the river and the tribes. At last, the cruisers being eluded, he saw the ship loaded with the slaves just in time to escape the *Vixen*, which had got within range but could not equal the speed of the vessel. They then sailed for an island south of Cuba, transferred the cargo to schooners, burned the ship, made Trinidad with the slaves concealed under the hatches, lay a night and a day in the harbor unsearched, and landed the slaves the night following, getting them into the interior and distributed among the planters in a very short space of time. Finally, the Americans got passports by a clever trick, and returned to New Orleans. The story is well told, and is an interesting account of the way the slave trade was managed, and of its necessary hardships even when, as in this case, the officers took better than ordinary care of the slaves. Other articles are upon the "Suburban House," "Surf and Surf-Bathing," and "The Rights of the Citizen to His Own Reputation." The poem by Robert Louis Stevenson, "The House of Tembinoka," is of amazing badness.

—*Harper's* continues the adventures of Tartarin, and follows them up with a sketch of the doings of Jonathan Wild. Travel is represented by a paper upon Baltic Russia, and cognate articles are upon the widely differing types of society in Texas (a very picturesque subject) and in Oxford, where the changes occasioned by permitting Fellows to marry, by the education of women, and in general by the Londonizing of the old academic régime, have been very marked. A paper of a sort not often to be found in this magazine is a literary study of Giosuè Carducci, whose reputation in his own country entitles him to the attention of foreigners, as a poet illustrating with some originality and force a modern literary movement. The author of the article seems to oscillate between admiration for the poet and doubt of the sufficiency of the philosophy incorporated in his verse; but he does his best to make Carducci understood. The difficulty of the case may be indicated by the fact that at the outset the critic has to raise the question whether Christianity is not something superimposed on the Italians and radically in conflict with their race-nature, which in the end may throw it off as a mere incident in the centuries of history. At all events he can point to a perpetually recurring revolt in Italy of the pagan spirit of adoration of this world's beauty and devotion to the joy of the senses, and he finds it renewed in "the Hellenic reaction," as he calls it, denoted by Carducci's verse. The philosophy of history, however, may be left to take care of itself, and the reader may attend to the translations, often excellent, from the whole range of Carducci, among them the notorious "Hymn to Satan." At the conclusion, the critic remarks upon the influence of court favor upon the poet, and also sufficiently expresses his own judgment that the pagan spirit, even in its ethical and æsthetic forms, does not comprehend enough of modern life to be equal to humanity. So, at least, we understand him. The paper is as conscientious as it is scholarly, and opens a refreshingly new subject.

—The *Century* contains an attractive colonial paper, by Edward Eggleston, upon Nathaniel Bacon, the Virginian adventurer who led the popular discontent and finally open rebellion directed against Governor Berkeley in 1676. The conditions of the time are graphically set forth, but the character of Bacon is the life of the article. His control of his men, his energy, the romantic words and the dramatic scenes that have come down to us, and his pathetic end, contribute to build up the ideal of the English adventurer, which we associate rather with the preceding generation. The present is the fullest account which has been given of him, and abounds in that picturesqueness which is not too common a quality of our early history. The principal paper in this number, however, is upon the theory of the Single Tax on Land Values, and is made up of a destructive criticism by Mr. Atkinson, a sarcastic reply by Mr. George, and a brief rejoinder by the first debater. Unlike most "modern symposiums," this presents many elements of a real discussion. Each intimates, and here and there directly states, that his opponent is, as a matter of fact, ignorant of what he is talking about, and there is no disposition on either side to suggest fallibility in the view held by it. Mr. Atkinson tends naturally rather to statistics, and Mr. George to philanthropic eloquence, and each deprecates the other's peculiarity in this regard. To the impartial spectator, the most obvious thing in the discussion is that there are two points of view and a debatable land between, where some discoveries may yet be made. The question is too large for the space given, and the treatment of it is no more than an opening skirmish. The most good it can do is to suggest the large issues involved in these questions, and to emphasize those conclusions, in respect to a reform of present taxation, in which both contestants agree.

—The ninth number of the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* (April-June) opens with two articles which will attract especial attention from anthropologists. The first of these papers, by Dr. Washington Matthews, U. S. A., contains an abstract of that part of the great creation and migration legend of the Navajos which gives an account of the origin and accession of the several gentes. The legend declares a period of seven lives of old men, or from 500 to 700 years, to have elapsed since the creation of the pair forming the nuclear gens of the present composite Navajo nation; during the subsequent history of the tribe, it is described as continually incorporating with itself additions from many quarters, forming new gentes. Among these, for example, after the arrival of the Spaniards, are said to have been the descendants of a Mexican captive, constituting a gens which received the name of People of the White Stranger. The writer believes these gentes to have been in the first instance only local exogamous groups, no man being allowed to marry in his own village. He remarks that among the Navajos both mother-right and father-right exists, and that descent in both lines seems to be recognized as determining consanguinity.

—In another paper, intended to accompany that of Dr. Matthews, Capt. John G. Bourke, U. S. A., discusses the Gentile Organization of the Apaches of Arizona. He gives lists of Apache gentes, adding those of the Moquis, of Zuñi and other pueblos. Examining the origin of the nomenclature, he shows the small number of animal titles included, while he observes that in the list of Dr. Matthews there is not a single such title out of more than fifty gentes. He concludes that the entire nomenclature of the Apache and Navajo gentile systems is topographical, and inclines to think that animal totemic designations may have been developed out of names at first local; for example, a people living near the Wolf Spring, and called after their dwelling-place, with natural taste for the marvellous, may have gloried in their association with the animal and in the distinction which they might derive from tracing their paternity to this source. "Primitive man," he remarks, "bothered himself very little about his ancestry. He gathered into little bands, and formed little communities for the great purpose of protection against human and animal enemies." In respect to the effects attributed to totemic belief, he doubts the connection of tabus respecting food with gentile titles, and thinks that observers have often confounded ceremonial fasts with general prohibitions. The effect of these articles, both as tending to overthrow a widely accepted theory of gentile origin and as militating against the recent extension of the doctrine of totemism as a ready explanation for the phenomena of primitive religion, will lead to an animated discussion, and cause a closer investigation of the gentile system of other tribes than these systems have hitherto received.

— The selection by the Senior Class of Harvard College of a colored class-day orator last autumn aroused much interest, which only seemed to increase as the time for the test of his mettle approached. In the meantime the commencement programme also bore the name of a black man, who had won his place on it by scholarship; and that both class day and commencement were this year more largely attended than for years past, was not a little due to public curiosity as to the real merit of the two speakers. The class orator, Clement Garnett Morgan, was the first to be tried. He had previously won a first Boylston prize for declamation, but otherwise had been little known in college. His very black, but not unpleasing face, looked singularly well under the Oxford cap of the day, and his scholar's robe lent a dignity to his naturally easy pose. He spoke to a critical, but very favorable audience, and received such applause at the beginning and end as very few class speakers ever win. This may have accounted for his embarrassment; for his evident nervous-

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ness took away from his usual robust delivery, and his diminished voice was heard with difficulty in the remoter parts of the hall. The matter of his address was indifferent—no better and no worse than the conventional valedictory class oration.

— The commencement orator, on the other hand, achieved a distinct triumph. He had been twice a Boylston prize winner, but otherwise was no better known than Morgan. But whereas the latter's commonplaces were offset by the wit of two unusually bright men, the feeble and mediocre character of the other commencement parts served but as a foil to show off the striking quality of the colored man's. The scene, too, was more dramatic on commencement than on class day. Sanders Theatre was unusually crowded—largely on account of Mrs. Cleveland's presence; and the number of distinguished faces on the platform was also greater than common. When the name of William Edward Burghardt Du Bois was called, and a slender, intellectual-looking mulatto ascended the platform and made his bow to the President of the University, the Governor of Massachusetts, the Bishop of New York, and a hundred other notables, the applause burst out heartily, as if in recognition of the strange significance of his appearance there. His theme, "Jefferson Davis as a Representative of Civilization," heightened this significance. Du Bois not only far excelled Morgan in mere delivery, but handled his difficult and hazardous subject with absolute good taste, great moderation, and almost contemptuous fairness. He dwelt largely upon Davis's intellectual strength, personal courage, and private integrity, and passed over altogether those arrogant traits which made him enemies even in his own camp. In contrast to this strong man, this Teutonic type, as he called it, he then set up the patient, trustful, submissive African as a type of citizen the world would some day honor. For the moment the audience showed itself ready to honor this type as displayed in the orator.

THE FRENCH WEST INDIES.

Two Years in the French West Indies. By Lafcadio Hearn. Harper & Brothers. 1890.

Not long ago an American newspaper, published in the interests of the commercial classes, alluded to the West Indian Islands as "a dumping ground for the refuse dairy produce of the United States." The Caribbee Islands are not, however, without other uses to the world at large. Since regular steam communication has been established between them and North America, numbers of Americans have taken a run down the islands—some with return tickets, while others, in want of change of climate or of scene, have dwelt awhile in those sunny lands. One of the results of this coming and going of Americans has been the publication, in newspapers, in periodicals, and in books, of descriptions of these newly discovered holiday resorts. Of these productions of our travelled thanes, the one which has hitherto proved the most popular, and which has found great favor with West Indians themselves, is that entitled 'Down the Islands,' a cheery, breezy volume, in which the author writes of his trip as if he thoroughly enjoyed it. And now comes Mr. Lafcadio Hearn, with his delightful account of his 'Two Years in the French West Indies.'

In the summer of 1887, Mr. Hearn started on a trip to the tropics. Apparently he went only for an outing. But, landing at the French island of Martinique, it so fascinated him that, after running down the islands, and proceeding to British Guiana, he returned to the *Pays des Revenants*, as he tells us Martinique is historically called, for a stay of "some months." He remained there for two years. Besides Martinique, the French own the West Indian islands of Guadeloupe and St. Bartholomew. They are also possessed of a portion of Guiana on the main, the name of a district in which, Cayenne, is well known for the pungency of its prepared pepper, and as a hot corner for convicts and *récidivistes*. Mr. Hearn's book deals almost wholly with the colony of Martinique, which is, indeed, the principal possession of the French in those parts.

Mr. Hearn rightly disclaims importance for his introductory chapter, to which he has given the title of "A Midsummer Trip to the Tropics." As a passenger on board of a merchant steamer which put into ports for a few hours at a time, or at most for a couple of days, to take in or to discharge cargo, what opportunities did he have for observing the inner life of the peoples of the various colonies? As it is, he has ventured to generalize upon "the visual and emotional impressions" of the moment. Thus, the notoriously rough boatmen and 'longshoremen of Bridgetown, Barbados, are taken as specimens of the Barbadian-African generally, and are then compared, with disadvantage, to the African of the French islands. By the way, Mr. Hearn credits the Barbadian blacks with speaking "excellent English." He says they speak English "with a strong Old Country accent." Their English neighbors in the adjacent islands say that Barbadians speak with an unmistakable American twang. It is not far from the truth to say that Barbadians speak English in an Old English way. They illustrate in their intonation of language the principle of survival, which in like manner may be identified on a market-day in an English country town. How is it, though, that Mr. Hearn does not notice the fact that George Washington spent some weeks in Barbados, when he visited it with his elder brother Lawrence, on account of the latter's ill health? Are there no records in the island of the Beefsteak Club to which the Father of his Country had admission during his stay, or must we content ourselves with the bare record of the fact as given by Sparks?

Again, is there nothing in the island to throw light upon the visit paid to it, in 1813, for his health's sake, by Light Horse Harry? Must we remain content with the paragraph in one of the old Barbados papers, which noted the landing there on the 21st of June, 1813, of Maj.-Gen. Henry Lee? Similarly of the other colonies. Facts are wanting to illustrate the years of the youth of Alexander Hamilton in his island home, Nevis, and in Santa Cruz and St. Kitt's. We want fresh details of Lawrence's fight in the *Hornet* with the British vessel of war *Peacock* off the coast of Guiana. Mr. Hearn tells us how Semmes escaped with the *Alabama* from Palmer in the *Tuscarora*, in the waters of Martinique, but he wholly omits mention of the fact that Semmes, in the *Sumter*, had before that evaded capture by Wilkes in the *Vanderbilt*, in those same waters. It would be well if our travellers took more note of the old associations between the British possessions in the Caribbean Sea and the great Republic, as numbers of families now rooted in the United States have sprung from forefathers who originally emigrated to Barbados and to others of the old English West Indian Islands.

In 'Two Years in the French West Indies' we have a study of life in a French tropical colony. Nature, also, is depicted for us in all her gorgeousness by the glowing pen of Mr. Hearn. He has caught the brilliance of tropical coloring and has impressed its hues upon his own pages. The chapters in which he paints for us the scenery of Martinique are the most successful attempt yet made to give word pictures of Nature arrayed in the luxuriance of tropical splendor. At the same time we have, with all the freshness of lifelike portraiture, a succession of vignettes of the work-a-day life of the laboring classes of Martinique. Mr. Hearn writes in full sympathy with these dusky toilers, and upon his narrative he engrafts incidents which are often deeply pathetic. These he relates with dramatic skill. In the French West Indies, as in the British colonies of Trinidad, Grenada, St. Lucia, and Dominica, the laboring classes speak a patois of the French language. So admirably has Mr. Hearn rendered his frequent quotations from this patois that we hardly think we do him an injustice in suggesting that, in the rendering, he may have received some assistance from his friend M. Leopold Arnoux, notary of St. Pierre, Martinique, to whom he has in fond terms dedicated his book.

Mr. Hearn is nothing if not æsthetical. His literary vice is in his sometimes letting the æsthetic sense run away with him. Life is too short for us to attempt to specify the quite too confusing varieties of blue that the author has noted in sea and sky. The differentiation of tints among the "fruit-colored populations" is overdone. Then how prodigious is the "tail of some unutterable bird"! The streets of St. Pierre are "lemon-tinted." The red limbs of the women carriers, locally called *porteuses*, take in the changing glow an "impossible tint." Of colored boys bathing, we are told that their "flesh does not look like flesh, but like fruit pulp"! All which reminds us of the æsthetical description of the intensely educated lower limbs of that eminent tragedian, Mr. Irving: "His right leg is limpid and utter; his left leg is a poem." While, however, the ordinary understanding reels in attempting to rise to the heights of our author's æsthetical furor, the book abounds with the charm of true poetical description. There is "an "indescribable caress in it," as Mr. Hearn himself says of the tropical breeze. If we have a fault to find, it is that there is not more of the book. Why has Mr. Hearn confined his studies to the life of the laboring classes? How delightful it would have been to have had some word-pictures of the life of the creole whites, whose power is passing away. Then, too, something fresh might have been gleaned about the risen and rising among the colored people. When the latter can supply members to the Chamber of Deputies in Paris—notably such a capable man as M. Vielle-Réache, a Deputy from Guadeloupe—there must surely be something to tell of the class whence they sprang. It is of this class that the outside world most needs to have correct information. Their white fellow-colonists will not, in many cases, get to know them, and hence are but too prone to misunderstand, to misjudge, and to misrepresent them. As, however, the men of color must year by year come more and more to the front, we hope that some of our travellers will yet discover that the whites and the laboring classes do not represent all the social forces in those colonies.

Those who know the West Indies, and those who wish to learn about the West Indies, will alike take pleasure in reading Mr. Hearn's book. He not only tells of the present, but gives glimpses of the past. A very pleasant account is that of Father Labat, both priest and planter, whose 'Voyage to the West In-

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dies' is such a mine for those who write about the archipelago. Old Father Dutertre, too, has honorable mention. The description given in the chapter with the title "La Vérette," of life in St. Pierre in 1887 and 1888, when smallpox was playing havoc among the inhabitants, is a literary triumph. All, however, of Mr. Hearn's other pictures in words are done to the life.

Pure Logic, and Other Minor Works. By W. Stanley Jevons. Edited by Robert Adamson and Harriet A. Jevons. Macmillan & Co. 1890.

THOUGH called Minor, these are scientifically Jevons's most important writings. As when they first appeared, they impress us by their clearness of thought, but not with any great power. The first piece, "Pure Logic," followed by four years De Morgan's "Syllabus of Logic," a dynamically luminous and perfect presentation of an idea. In comparison with that, Jevons's work seemed, and still seems, feeble enough. Its leading idea amounts to saying that existence can be asserted indirectly by denying the existence of something else. But among errors thick as autumn leaves in Vallambrosa, the tract contains a valuable suggestion, a certain modification of Boole's use of the symbol + in logic. This idea, directly suggested by De Morgan's work, soon presented itself independently to half-a-dozen writers. But Jevons was first in the field, and the idea has come to stay. Mr. Venn is alone in his dissent.

The substance of the second piece in this volume, the "Substitution of Similars," is in its title. Cicero had a wart on his nose; so Burke would be expected to have something like it. This is Mill's inference from particulars to particulars. As a matter of psychology, it is true the one statement suggests the other, but logical connection between them is wholly wanting. The substitution of similars might well be taken as the grand formula of bad reasoning.

Both these tracts warmly advocate the quantification of the predicate—that it is preferable in formal logic to take A=B as the fundamental form of proposition rather than "If A, then B," or "A belongs among the Bs." The question is not so important as Jevons thought it to be; but we give his three arguments with refutations. First, he says the copula of identity is logically simpler than the copula of inclusion. Not so, for the statement that "man= rational animal" is equivalent to a compound of two propositions with the copula of inclusion, namely, "If anything is a man, it is a rational animal," and "If anything is a rational animal, it is a man." True, Jevons replies that these propositions can be written with a copula of identity, A AB. But A and B are not symmetrically situated here. They are not simply joined by a sign of equality. Second, Jevons says that logic takes a more unitary development with the proposition of identity than with that of inclusion. He thinks his doctrines of not quantified logic and the substitution of similars call for this copula, but this is quite an error. And then an inference supposes that if the premises are true, the conclusion is true. The relation of premises to conclusion is thus just that of the terms of the proposition of inclusion. Thus the illative "ergo" is really a copula of inclusion. Why have any other? Third, Jevons holds the proposition of identity to be the more natural. But, psychologically, propositions spring from association. The subject suggests the predicate. Now the difficulty of saying the words of any familiar thing backwards shows that the suggesting and suggested cannot immediately change places.

The third piece in the volume describes Jevons's logical machine, in every respect inferior to that of Prof. Allan Marquand, and adequate only to inferences of childish simplicity. The higher kinds of reasoning concerning relative terms cannot (as far as we can yet see) be performed mechanically.

The fourth paper advocates the treatment of logic by means of arithmetic—without previous logical analysis of the conception of number, which would call for the logic of relatives. To exhibit the power of his method, Jevons shows that it draws at once such a difficult conclusion as this: "For every man in the house, there is a person who is aged; some of the men are not aged. It follows, that some of the persons in the house are not men." Unfortunately, this is an exhibition not of the power of the method, but of its imbecility, since the reasoning is not good. For if we substitute for "person," even number, for "man," whole number; for "aged," double of an integer, we get this wonderful reasoning: "Every whole number has its double; some whole numbers are not doubles of integers. Hence, some even numbers are not whole numbers."

The remainder of the book is taken up with Jevons's articles against Mill, which were interrupted by his death. The first relates to Mill's theory of mathematical reasoning, which in its main features is correct. The only defect which Jevons brings out is, that no satisfactory mode of proving the approximate truth of the geometrical axioms is indicated. But this is a question of physical, not of mathematical, reasoning. The second criticism, relating to resemblance, seems due to Jevons's not seizing the distinction between a definite attribute, which is a resemblance between its subjects, and Resemblance in general, as a relation between attributes. The third paper concerns Mill's theory of induction. That theory may be stated as follows: When we remark that a good many things of a certain kind have a certain character, and that no such things are found to want it, we find ourselves disposed to believe that all the things of that kind have that character. Though we are unable, at first, to defend this inference, we are none the less under the dominion of the tendency so to infer. Later, we come to the conclusion that certain orders of qualities (such as location) are very variable even in things which otherwise are closely similar, others (as color) are generally common to narrow classes, others again (as growth) to very wide classes. There are, in short, many uniformities in nature; and we come to believe that there is a general and strict uniformity. By making use of these considerations according to four certain methods, we are able to distinguish some inductions as greatly preferable to others. Now, if it be really true that there is a strict uniformity in nature, the fact that inductive inference leads to the truth receives a complete explanation. We believe in our inferences, because we are irresistibly led to do so; and this *theory* shows why they come out true so often. Such is Mill's doctrine. It misses the essential and dwells on secondary features of scientific inference; but it is an intelligible doctrine, not open to the charge of paltering inconsistency which Mr. Jevons brings against it.

No doubt there is a good deal of truth in Jevons's criticism of Mill, who was a sagacious but not a very close thinker, and whose style, very perspicuous for him who reads rapidly, is almost impenetrably obscure to him who inquires more narrowly into its meaning. But Mill's examination of Hamilton has a logical penetration and force which we look for in vain in Jevons's articles on Mill.

When We Were Boys: A Novel. By William O'Brien, M.P. Longmans, Green & Co.

THERE are few more striking personalities in British politics than William O'Brien. Ten years ago, an unknown writer on the Dublin daily press; then sent abroad for his health and corresponding on Egyptian affairs; returning to throw himself into the Land League agitation, and be incarcerated with Mr. Parnell in Kilmainham (being separated from a dying mother, to whom he was tenderly attached); the editor of *United Ireland;* above all other members of the Irish Parliamentary party, the darling of the Irish people, perhaps the most hated by Mr. Balfour; a lion in the face of imprisonment and opposition, a very lamb in private intercourse; just married to Miss Raffalovitch, a French writer, an heiress, who, apparently for his sake, has joined the Catholic Church—he has now given us this novel. It was written during his last imprisonment, and is dedicated "To John Dillon, in memory of anxious years and glorious hopes." The scenes are laid in Ireland in the Fenian times of from twenty to twenty-five years ago. It is in the main a history of young Ken Rohan, from the day when he leaves his mother's side for school, until, sentence of death having been remitted, he is, as "convict 575," condemned to penal servitude for life, on account of participation in the Fenian movement—"and with this we reach what we at first suppose to be, but which we are assured is NOT THE END."

"Within our own generation, innumerable Irish hearts as young and lightsome as Ken Rohan's have been quenched in penal servitude, and innumerable Irish mothers, sweethearts, and sisters have wept at the prison gates. An Irish novelist, if he loved his youths or maidens, had only to make them die or suffer. The writer's besetting difficulty throughout was how to soften for strangers' ears those minor chords of sorrow which haunt Irish life like night winds sighing through one of our ruined shrines."

The 550 closely printed pages, with their redundancy of adjectives and proper names, and similes, and italicised words in French, Italian, German, and Irish, will not be generally attractive. The style is often careless, and there are many sins against good taste and defects of diction and construction. The chief characters are unreal, the action frequently unnatural. To the Irish reader it is redeemed as a novel by the remarkable reality and naturalness of the distinctively Irish characters portrayed, their conversation and ideas being true to the life. Doubtless many casual and busy readers will lay aside the book with a feeling of disappointment. Those, on the other hand, who have sufficient interest in Irish affairs, sufficient desire to understand Irish feeling and the springs of Irish thought, will have their reward in reading it. We know few works of a similar character throwing so much light on the subject. It is eminently fair-minded. Irish faults are portrayed as clearly as Irish virtues. Its perusal would be a good antidote to those who dread Papal aggression in Ireland. Catholicism is presented in its best and most spiritual aspects, while its political pretensions are freely reprobated. The author often recurs to and dwells upon the law of love:

"Do you suppose you would find a human heart anywhere—in a cabin or in a prison—that was not made for sunshine as well as yours or mine, if you could only release it from its dungeon of suffering and unkindness?"

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"How much happier a world it might be if people would only do as much for kindness as they do for love, and how many a million loveless hearts would be the brighter!"

"One like you is never done with love until he is done with life. When you have done adoring young women, you will find old ones more adorable, and when the old ones disappear, you will find children the most adorable of all."

The general unpunctuality in Ireland is thus lightly touched off:

"*If this British Empire was advertised to* burst up spontaneous at an hour and place named in the bills, provided the Irish people was punctual on time just for that one auspicious occasion, darned but you'd have Mick and Paddy mouuching along half an hour too late, hoping they hadn't kep' anybody waiting."

And we read of "that first treasure of happiness and fatal disqualification for successful ambition—an easy temper."

The Irish-American is one of the best characters in the book; almost everything he says is good. The talk at the Gouganebarra pic-nic between him, the priest, and the clergyman contains some admirable passages, but they are too long for extract. The following are worth quoting as putting the Irish question in so many nutshells:

"It is supposed to be vulgar for a man who lives by the country [Ireland] to do anything but abuse it."

"English policy in Ireland has always proceeded upon the principle of governing by bribing somebody—anybody except the people to be governed."

"What is all Irish history but a pile of coffins of the young and brave!"

"Hearts break and homes crumble any way in Ireland. Two million of hearts were broken in this small island since you were of my age. . . . Enough Irish lives have been thrown away in this generation to have purchased us a hundred Marathons or Bannockburns—and we have nothing to show for it but the famine pits of Skibbereen."

"Sentiment and the round towers have outlived twenty generations of Strongbows and Cromwells."

Again, the author speaks of "those secretive peasants, over whose hides caution and dissimulation had grown encrusted like the cuirass on the backs of palæozoic animals accustomed to be preyed upon." There is true insight into life in this: "Our lives pass in stumbling over the stocks and stones of the prosaic mountains which glowed in the distance like mines of amethysts."

That fire, so dangerous to the British Empire, which, under the present system of government, smoulders in so many Irish hearts, is often revealed to us by Mr. O'Brien, as in a conversation between Ken Rohan's father and the priest over the lad's Fenian proclivities:

"We have grown old and of the peace, Myles—you because of the children and the mill, I because the Papal Legate in Dublin is an Italian monk in the garb of an Irish bishop; but if the French were in the bay again to-night, with those 15,000 troops and the 100,000 stand of arms, do you think Master Ken's heart would beat a little more wildly than yours or mine, in spite of mills or cardinals?"

We doubt if this work will live as a novel; but there is so much feeling in it, so much life and truth and genuine Irish humor and poetry, that, in spite of its numerous faults, it will find a permanent place in many collections of books relating to Ireland. We are glad that a page remains between what is "NOT THE END" and the author's last word:

"Irishmen have discovered a saner resource than the wild weapons of boyish insurrection, and Englishmen a more glorious revenge than a handcuffed wrist and a convict's brand. The issue between humanity and barbarism—between love and hate—is even at this moment trembling in the balance."

We ought to add that the Messrs. Longman are the only authorized publishers of this novel in the United States.

The Art of Authorship: Literary Reminiscences, Methods of Work, and Advice to Young Beginners. Personally contributed by leading authors of the day. Compiled and edited by George Bainton. D. Appleton & Co. 1890.

THE vanity of authors is proverbial, and their innocent unwariness is almost as well established in common belief. We owe the present volume, in about equal measure, to these traits in the literary class. The editor is not known to us, but it is plain that he uses a honeyed pen in correspondence, and in reply to his flattering appeal an unusually large number of the elect have fallen into the snare with a crowd of minor authors and authoresses from twenty years of age to fourscore. It seems that the entire craft in England and America, with representatives from Germany and France, was invited to tell the "young aspirant" how "to learn to write," and in particular to teach by example, confiding to the editor for publication the history of how each "learned to write" in his or her own case; and here we have the result made up of extracts from the letters received. There is, altogether, much agreement in the advice given. It appears that very many authors regard their "art" as, in one way or another, a "gift," which can be improved but never acquired; it is not only the poet, these affirm, who is "born, not made," but the three-volume novelist likewise. Many also unite in the opinion that the "young aspirant" should endeavor to make himself understood, should use easy words, short ones if possible, and should be "true to himself or herself." The method of learning "how to write" which has a large majority in its favor is—"to write." It seems that nearly all actually learned what they know of the art in just that way. Another bit of advice, reiterated so often that it must be of importance, is "to read good books." A few put much stress on this, and ascribe much to it in their own cases. Thus, the Lord Bishop of Carlisle thinks his style is chiefly due to reading mathematics at Cambridge, Ernest Myers owes very much to the Greek classics, and "Virgil did a great deal" for G. P. Lathrop. Mr. Lewis Morris, who remarks that he "generally fails to satisfy himself in prose and often in verse," acknowledges his indebtedness for clearness to his "experience as a conveyancing counsel of long practice in drafting legal instruments," and he seems to suggest that Robert Browning and George Meredith might have profited by his example. Sir Edwin Arnold says that the good writer "never commits the fault of tautology," or "employs redundant epithets" (speaking, of course, with an eye to his own style); Sir M. Monier Williams advises "abstemiousness in the use of adjectives"; and Sir J. Fitz James Stephen confines himself to denouncing with accustomed vigor "the misuse of pronouns." Cuthbert Bede says you should cross your "t's." There are over three hundred pages of these admirable counsels from distinguished gentlemen and others, all tending to show that a common-school rhetoric is to be trusted.

The well-meaning editor has not confined his extracts from the letters merely to the subject in hand. He has included a good share of autobiography in the way of "confessions." Mr. J. A. Symonds, for example, tells of his college days, John Boyle O'Reilly and Lew Wallace give some spice of adventure, and here and there a female novelist contributes reminiscences in a light and sparkling style. Marie Corelli relates how she "disburdened her mind of certain thoughts that clamored for utterance," and produced 'A Romance of Two Worlds,' the instant success of which gave her to literature. She has studied "Homer and the classics, the best French, German, and Italian authors, together with all the finest works in the English language," but as for newspapers, which she "detests," "the mere news stated in the telegrams has always sufficed for me." Naturally, she does not write for money or reputation, having the former "without exertion," and regarding the latter as "not worth a pin's point in the general economy of the universe"; and so she declares that "art always frowns on those who are too ready to barter her for gold." There is much more of her experience (at "four and twenty"), but we give so much as an example of the prattle (both masculine and feminine) that occasionally glitters on the page. It relieves Dr. Freeman's vehemence against those who think him diffuse, or Julian Hawthorne's lament that he has insufficient leisure and opportunity for producing the best literature, and Edgar Fawcett's regret that he "should be so ill-known amongst her [England's] vast throngs of intelligent readers."

But quotation fails us in the effort to do justice to upwards of 150 authors who have told here the secret of success in literature and much else. One gleans much from the volumes besides wisdom. The number of writers who had no training whatever is noticeably large—though few are so frank as Mrs. E. L. Linton, who declares that she is "always finding out some new error of style or syntax of which I am habitually guilty"; but such difficulties, it is clear, can be overcome, and altogether the volume is encouraging to the "young aspirant," whether he be educated or not, provided he has "the gift" that "clamors for words." The volume is, as will be seen, very various in matter, but one thing is constant in it—the good-nature of the editor, who was appreciative of every style, and of the eight-score authors who were willing to assist his laudable design of helping the "young aspirant" by talking about themselves.

Adventures in the Great Forest of Equatorial Africa and the Country of the Dwarfs. By Paul Du Chaillu. With map and illustrations. Abridged and popular edition. Harper & Bros. 1890. Pp. xviii, 476. 8vo.

IT is now nearly thirty years since Mr. Du Chaillu published the first volume of his travels in western Africa, containing an account of the gorilla, the cannibals, and the dwarfs. It excited much interest at the time, as well as a lively controversy, now happily well-nigh forgotten. This and the succeeding volumes, relating to his second expedition to the same region of the Gaboon and Ogoway Rivers, have been condensed as above. The story is always interesting and well told, but it has now only an historical value, the territory in question having been since thoroughly explored by the Marquis de Compiègne, Oskar Lenz, Savorgnan de Brazza, and many others. Considering Du Chaillu's age—he was not twenty-one when he started on his first expedition—his achievements were certainly remarkable and should give him a high rank among modern explorers. Though he did not penetrate much over 200 miles from the coast, yet he travelled nearly 10,000 miles on foot without any white companion. His collections consisted of 2,000 birds, including many new species, and 200

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quadrupeds, of which 20 were new species. His description of the dwarfs whom he found in the forests of the Ogoway is so general that it is impossible to determine whether they have any race connection with the pygmies whom Stanley discovered in the great Aruwimi forest. They were certainly much larger, for the tallest of seven of the Obongos whom Du Chaillu measured was 60¼ inches, and the shortest 52¼ inches, the average height being slightly over 55¾ inches. Of fifty dwarfs captured by the Stanley expedition, only one reached the height of 54 inches, the others varying from 39 to 50 inches. In one important respect the two accounts agree, in stating that the larger natives tolerate the presence of the dwarfs because of their skill and usefulness in hunting and trapping birds and other game.

Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore. Comprising their Life and Work as Recorded in their Diaries from 1812 to 1883, etc. Edited by Dr. L. Loewe, assisted by his Son. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. xii, 389, x, 363. Chicago: Belford-Clarke Co. 1890.

SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE occupied a unique position among his contemporaries. Connected by marriage with the richest family in the world, he acquired an independent fortune early in life, and for nearly half a century devoted his restless energies to unremitting efforts at ameliorating the condition of his race in all parts of the world. The secret of the great success which so frequently crowned his efforts is to be sought in his habit of promptly repairing to the spot where anything required to be done and doing it himself, instead of sending some one else to do it. Thus, he made seven separate voyages to Palestine on errands of mercy, the last of them in his ninety-first year. What is more, in 1882, when the anti-Jewish riots in Russia aroused the indignation of the civilized world, and a relief fund of over half a million of dollars was raised in London, he offered, although ninety-eight years old, to journey to Russia to intercede with the Czar. In the course of the various missions he undertook he had interviews with nearly all the potentates of his time, and never failed of a favorable answer to his petitions for justice to his people. He was never discouraged or dismayed, and on more than one occasion proceeded calmly on his way when more timid souls scented danger and counselled him to retreat. The reports he made to the Emperor Nicholas in 1846 on the condition and character of the Jews in Russia disposed of many calumnies in regard to their industrial status, showed that much of what was objectionable was the direct result of cruel and oppressive legislation, and prevailed upon the Czar to suspend the ukase against the Jews. The numerous other concessions of liberty and legal equality which he obtained from the Sultans of Turkey and Morocco and from other monarchs are too well known to need recounting here.

His sincere piety, and the great strictness with which he observed the minutest ritual and dietary regulations of his faith, give an additional peculiarity to his character, and remind one of similar traits in the Earl of Shaftesbury, who was animated by the same philanthropic motives, and entertained so great an admiration for him whom he called "that grand old Hebrew patriarch," that he suggested to Disraeli and, later, to Gladstone, the propriety of raising Sir Moses to the peerage. Not the least interesting point in his life is its great length, as he presents one of the very few authenticated instances in modern times of an actual centenarian retaining all his faculties to the last day.

Altogether, here was a man whose career was worthy of being commemorated, and afforded abundant material to furnish forth an interesting and instructive record. His memoir now given to the public does not, however, fulfil any reasonable expectations. While omitting various particulars which might have been useful in bringing the individuality of Sir Moses out in bolder relief, it is extended to an inordinate length by the insertion of many trivial details, which might be acceptable if mentioned once, or even twice, but are repeated so often as to become intolerably tedious. The result is, that what is really important is swamped in a mass of dreary commonplace and misses its legitimate effect. Instead of digesting his materials and producing an organized book, the editor has simply pieced together scraps from the diaries which were placed at his disposal, and seems to have made no attempt at arranging them in any order except a chronological one. Of affording any literary aid to the reader through the resulting maze, he appears to entertain only the most rudimentary ideas. Such a simple expedient as printing the year at the top of the page or in the margin has not occurred to him.

It is perhaps superfluous to add that the book has no index. The illustrations are such as might have been passable a quarter of a century ago. What the American republishers mean by claiming copyright on the reverse of the title-page, is a mystery which we do not undertake to explain.

The Supplices of Æschylus. Edited by T. G. Tucker, M.A., Professor of Classical Philology in the University of Melbourne. Macmillan & Co.

FROM the opposite side of the world comes this elaborate and learned edition of the "Supplices," which the publishers present in one of those beautiful octavo volumes in whose praise we have several times had occasion to speak during the last two or three years. Within the memory of men still living and working, Melbourne was not. Now, Mr. Tucker, after enumerating near the beginning of his preface the various sources from which he has drawn, says that they "practically place the antipodean student on an equality of equipment with the European." He has only one complaint to make, one reason to ask for indulgence. That is contained in the closing sentence of his preface: "It is not so much that our literary stores and appliances are insufficient as that there is a want of that ready help and advice, and of that sympathy of pursuit, which the European student can enjoy so plentifully."

Of the thirty-two Greek tragedies that time has spared, the "Supplices" of Æschylus has come down to us in the most woful condition. Of the four MSS. on which the text of the drama is founded, one, the *Mediceus*, of the eleventh century, is generally acknowledged to be very corrupt, while the other three, two of the fifteenth and one of the sixteenth century, are by most critics regarded merely as bad copies of the first. Hence almost, perhaps quite, every line of the play has been the subject of conjectural emendation. In fact, a commentary on the "Supplices" is necessarily occupied not so much with explaining the meaning of the text as with constructing a text which shall have a meaning. Mr. Tucker gives, on the average, on each page five lines of text, in what he supposes to have been its original form. Beneath this are critical notes in Latin, which contain the results of the labors of all the previous editors—Hermann, Dindorf, Oberdick, Paley, and a long list of others; the remaining, and far the largest portion of the page, is occupied by his commentary in English. His critical notes also give the reading of the oldest MS. wherever it differs from his own, and of the other MSS. wherever they seemed worthy of notice. At the end is a literal prose translation of his own text and an index to his notes.

In his preface and introduction Prof. Tucker has stated very fully and illustrated by numerous examples the principles and rules which have guided him in his attempts to restore the text. He seems to have worked with the greatest care, diligence, and conscientiousness. But, after all, when we possess practically but one MS., and that contains many passages destitute alike of grammar, of metre, and of sense, however ingeniously an editor may "emend" them into something answering all these requirements, an impartial reader cannot help feeling that he is a long way from being certain that what the editor offers is what the author wrote; and whatever slight probability there may be that such is the case, that probability becomes infinitesimally small when we find three or four different editors, equally learned and ingenious, each attaining the same end in a different way. But, all this apart, the "Supplices" still resembles many of the remains of Greek sculpture which, though battered and mutilated, yet glow with beauty and grace. Prof. Tucker says (p. xviii) that vv. 604–688 are "the most beautiful lyric composition in Greek drama." We should certainly prefer to refresh our recollection of some of the other masterpieces of Greek tragedy before giving assent to this assertion.

We can notice but one more point. The date of the play is generally fixed at 461 or 462 B. C. Prof. Tucker places it thirty years earlier, in 491 or 492 B. C., when Æschylus was thirty-three years old. We have no room to state Prof. Tucker's arguments or additional reasons of our own, but with his general conclusion that it is the earliest extant Greek drama we most unqualifiedly agree. On the whole, we think Prof. Tucker's edition of the "Supplices" the most useful at present attainable. That it is the handsomest there can be no doubt.

The Prophet of Palmyra: Mormonism reviewed and examined in the life, character, and career of its founder, from "Cumorah Hill" to Carthage Jail and the Desert. Together with a Complete History of the Mormon Era in Illinois, and an exhaustive investigation of the "Spalding Manuscript" Theory of the Origin of the Book of Mormon. By Thomas Gregg. New York: John B. Alden. 12mo, pp. xv, 552.

THIS seems to be an honest effort at compiling the history of the growth of Mormonism, and its progress in this country down to the establishment of the Mormons in Utah. The writer is a citizen of Illinois, whose memory reaches the period of the heyday of prosperity at Nauvoo, and the murder of Joe Smith and his brother by the mob at Carthage. His personal knowledge, however, is limited to the general public feeling in Illinois at the time, for he does not seem to have been a witness himself of any important events in the history. It can hardly be said that the book bears out the pretensions of the title-page, for it is not a complete or exhaustive investigation of Mormon history or doctrine. It is rather a taking popular treatment of the story, and, in the matter of the Spalding manuscript, has some valuable original evidence. For serious historical pur-

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poses it lacks evidence of the searching care and full investigation which the subject demands; but perhaps it is more likely to suit the popular taste than if its grasp were stronger or its research more exhaustive.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Annual Register for 1889. London: Rivingtons.
Azarias, Brother. An Essay Contributing to a Philosophy of Literature. 6th ed. New York: P. O'Shea. $1 50.
Balzac, H. de. The Devil's Daughter. Am. News Co. 50 cents.
Bates, Katherine L. Hermit Island. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. $1.25.
Björnson, B. In God's Way. John W. Lovell Co. 50 cents.
Brooks, E. S. A Son of Issachar. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.25.
Brown, E. C. Directory of American Gas Companies: Gas Statistics. New York. $5.
Caldwell, Rev. S. L. Cities of Our Faith, and Other Discourses and Addresses. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $2.
Campbell, Prof. D. H. Elements of Structural and Systematic Botany. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Cary, Rev. H. F. Dante's Paradiso. Scribner & Welford. 60 cents.
Clendenin, Rev. F. M. Idols by the Sea, and Other Sermons. 2d ed. James Pott & Co.
Cutler, Julia P. Life and Times of Ephraim Cutler. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. $2.50.
Cyclopædia of the Manufactures and Products of the United States. Seeger & Guernsey Co. $6.
Dietrich, O. Introduction to Grammar. Milwaukee, Wis.: 90 cents.
Feuillet, O. An Artist's Honor. Cassell Publishing Co.
Fitzgerald, P. King Theodore of Corsica. Scribner & Welford. 50 cents.
Ford, P. L. "The Sayings of Poor Richard." G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.
Fraser, Prof. A. C. Locke. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $1.25.
Freeman, A. C. American State Reports. Vol. XII. San Francisco: Bancroft-Whitney Co.
Funny Stories Told by Phineas T. Barnum. Geo. Routledge & Sons.
Gallavardin, Dr. Homœopathic Treatment of Alcoholism. Philadelphia: Hahnemann Publishing House.
Gems from the East: A Birthday Book. New York: W. Q. Judge.
Hallock, C. The Salmon Fisher. New York: The Harris Publishing Co. $1.
Harmony in Praise. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.
Hartshorne, Dr. H. Bertram the Prince: An Idyl. Philadelphia.
Hatch, Mary R. P. The Bank Tragedy: A Novel. Welch, Fracker Co.
Haynes, Mary S. The Crown of Life. From the Writings of Henry Ward Beecher. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. $1.
Heyne, Prof. M. Deutsches Wörterbuch. Ehe—G. B. Westermann & Co. $1.25.
Howells, W. D. The Shadow of a Dream. Harper & Bros.
Hughes, T. Tom Brown's School Days. London: Macmillan & Co. 25 cents.
Jackson, F. G. Decorative Design: An Elementary Text-book. London: Chapman & Hall.
Kingsley, C. Hereward the Wake. Macmillan & Co. 25 cents.
Lankester, E. R. The Advancement of Science: Occasional Essays and Addresses. Macmillan & Co. $3.
Laurie, Prof. S. S. Lectures on Language and Linguistic Method in the School. Macmillan & Co. 90 cents.
Macquoid, Katherine S. The Haunted Fountain, and Hetty's Revenge. John W. Lovell Co. 30 cents.
Masson, Prof. D. Collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey. Vol. 8. Speculative and Theological Essays. Macmillan & Co. $1.25.
May Blossoms: Poems by Lilian, G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.
McCarthy, J. H. The French Revolution. Vol. I. Harper & Bros.
McGovern, J. Burritt Durand: A Tale of the Middle West. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co.
Memorial Meeting of the Syracuse Browning Club. Syracuse, N. Y.: C. W. Pardeen. $1.
Muir, T. Theory of Indeterminants, in the Historical Order of its Development. Part I. Determinants in General. Macmillan & Co. $2.50.
Musical Year-Book of the United States. Vol. 7. Boston: G. H. Wilson. $1.
Nettleship, Prof. H. The Moral Influence of Literature: Classical Education in the Past and at Present. London: Percival & Co.
Nichol, Prof. J., and McCormick, W. S. Questions and Exercises on English Composition. Macmillan & Co. 35 cents.
O'Brien, Rev. C. Aminta: A Modern Life Drama. D. Appleton & Co.
Page, T. E. P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Lib. III. Macmillan & Co. 40 cents.
Payn, J. The Burnt Million. Harper & Bros. 25 cent.
Phillips, F. C., and Fendall, P. A Daughter's Sacrifice. Frank F. Lovell & Co. 50 cents.
Rathbone, W. History and Progress of District Nursing. Macmillan & Co. 75 cents.
Remains, Historical and Literary, connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester. Vol. 18. Manchester: The Chetham Society.
Richards, J. The Law of Wages, the Rate and Amount. San Francisco: Industrial Publishing Co. 25 cents.
Ruskin Library: Sesame and Lilies, Ethics of the Dust, Crown of Wild Olives, Queen of the Air. John Wiley & Sons. $4.
Rutherford, W. G. First Greek Grammar Accidence. Macmillan & Co. 90 cents.
Scheffel, J. V. von. Ekkehard: A Tale of the Tenth Century. 2 vols. W. S. Gottsberger.
Schrader, Prof. O. Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples. Scribner & Welford. $6.75.
Smith, A. Dreamthorp. Rochester, N. Y.: Geo. P. Humphrey. $1.25.
Smith, G. G. The Days of James IV. (1488–1513). (Scottish History by Contemporary Writers.) London: David Nutt.
Stokes, W. Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. $8.
Syllabus of Elementary Dynamics. I. Linear Dynamics. Macmillan & Co. 30 cents.
The Church of the British Isles. E. & J. B. Young & Co. $1.25.
Wentworth, Prof. G. A School Algebra. Boston: Ginn & Co.
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